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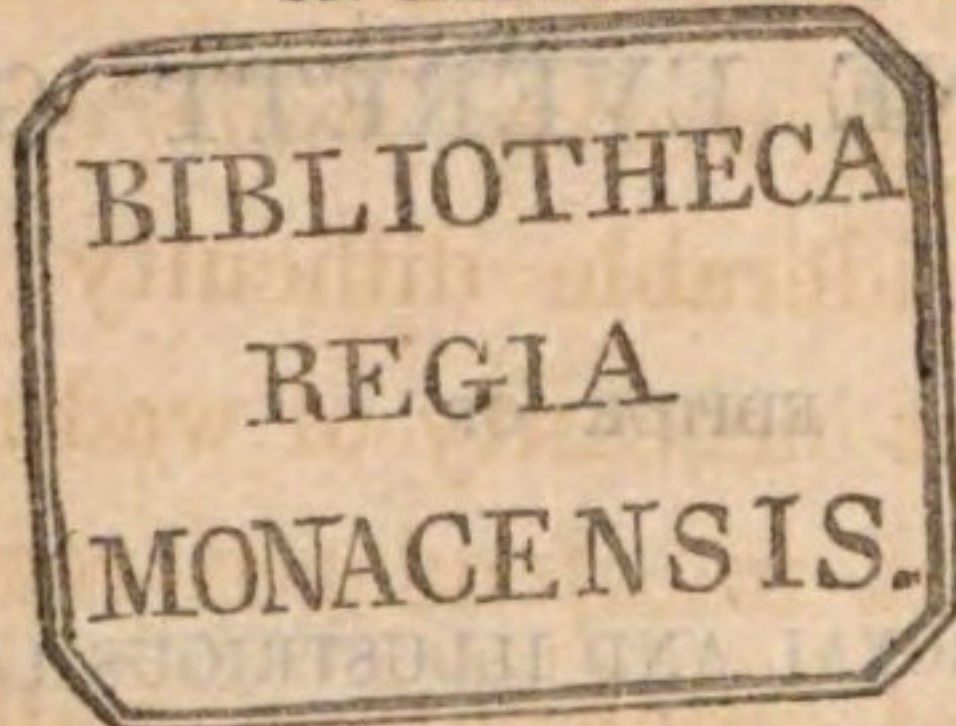
PREFACE
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PREFACE.

AN apology is due to those courteous readers who have honoured the memorials of the Princesses of England with a perusal, for the long delay in their continuation. This has not been the result of negligence, nor of ingratitude for the favourable reception given to the work. Though it may seem strange that an undertaking commenced upwards of eight years ago, should not advance more rapidly to a conclusion, yet in this portion of it researches required into foreign works, some of them only to be procured with considerable difficulty and expense from abroad, the frequent necessity of wading through a large mass of unsorted and uncalendared records, in search of particular points of information, with the pressure of other engagements, have combined to render such delay inevitable. The present volume embraces an extensive and important period in English history;—from the first to the fourth Edward;—and the biographies which it contains are consequently varied in character. The memoir of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. contains many interesting particulars relating to the court and family of that monarch. The life of Joanna of the Tower, the gentle and true-hearted consort of David Bruce, leads through some of the most stirring scenes of Scottish history, whilst

the biographies of the daughters of Edward III. are fraught with numerous incidents illustrative of the chivalric spirit of the age. Of the eldest of these princesses, Isabella, and her gallant husband Ingelram de Coucy, the details here presented are entirely new to the English reader; the author is not aware of any previous work which contains more than the mention of the princess birth and marriage. The same remark holds good in reference to the two daughters of Henry IV.; the only notice previously existing of the elder, Blanche, is that she was married first to Louis of Bavaria, and afterwards to the King of Arragon and the Duke of Bar: it will at once be seen from the facts brought forward in the ensuing narrative, that two-thirds of this statement are without foundation. The series of wardrobe books of Henry IV., as Earl of Derby, in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, casts much light on the early life of this princess, whilst some curious but much injured MS. letters in the Cottonian collection, give new and interesting details of the closing scenes of her lovely and short-lived career. Concerning her younger sister, Philippa, our genealogists inform us that she was married to Eric, King of Denmark, and retired soon afterwards to a monastery, in consequence of ill-treatment from her husband, and there lived about twenty years. This is the sole record possessed by the British public of a royal daughter of England, whose name is yet remembered with reverent homage by the grateful peasantry of one-third of Europe;—whose married life, far from being one of cloistered seclusion, was marked by incidents so romantic as to afford a fitting theme for the pen of the poet; whose generous

courage proved the salvation of Denmark, and whose masculine vigour, true-hearted uprightness, and political prudence alone propped up for years the tottering throne of her husband.

In drawing up the lives of the daughters of Edward IV., the author has for the first time the important advantage of treading in the steps of a learned antiquary who has preceded her in endeavours to illustrate the histories of these princesses. The late Sir Harris Nicolas, in his introduction to the privy-purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, gives concise, yet lucid and valuable sketches of the sisters of that queen, which have formed the groundwork of the present biographies, though in each, fresh materials from MS. sources have been added in elucidation.

The concluding volumes of the work will be published as early as consistent with due attention to their accurate completion. Embracing a period much richer in materials for biography, and including personages whose lives presented many stirring incidents, the author cherishes the hope that their greater claim to interest will bespeak for them an additional measure of the cordiality of acceptance with which the earlier volumes have been received. Her grateful appreciation of that cordiality she will testify not in words, but in strenuous efforts to merit for the remainder of her work the patronage already accorded to its commencement. She takes this opportunity of renewing her acknowledgments to the gentlemen named in the preface to her preceding volumes, for their friendly attentions; these are due in addition, to Thomas Watts Esq., of the British Museum, for his valuable assist-

ance in translations from ancient Danish records illustrative of the life of Queen Philippa, also to William Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix, and to G. W. Markham, Esq., for their aid in genealogical researches.

7, Upper Gower Street, Bedford Square,
January 29th, 1851.

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ELIZABETH,

THE EIGHTH DAUGHTER OF EDWARD I.

CHAPTER I.

NAME of the Princess—Birth—Companionship with her brother—Betrothal to John of Holland—John's residence in England—Quarrel between his father and Edward I.—Florence attempts to disinherit John—Is murdered—Embassy to request the return of John—His marriage with Elizabeth—She refuses to accompany him to Holland—He departs alone—She goes abroad with her father—Joins her husband—Borsolen's influence over Earl John—Elizabeth's residence at the Hague—Tumults against Borsolen—He escapes with the Earl—Elizabeth rouses the people—Rescues her husband—Borsolen slain—Regency of John d'Avennes—Elizabeth's zeal—Jealousies between Earl John and the Regent—Death of the Earl—Elizabeth fails to secure her dower—Returns to England—Joins the King and Queen—Her wardrobe—Changes of residence—Humphrey de Bohun—His marriage with Elizabeth—They accompany the King to Scotland—Birth of Elizabeth's eldest child—The royal nursery—A second daughter born—Castle of Pleshy—Elizabeth's correspondence with her brother—Visits Queen Margaret—Accompanies her husband to Scotland—Births of her other children—Coolness between Edward I. and Humphrey—Reconciliation—Edward II. favours the Earl—Elizabeth attends Queen Isabella on her landing—Their correspondence—Rebellion against Gaveston's tyranny—His murder—Battle of Bannockburn—Humphrey taken prisoner, but released—Edward procures the restoration of his sister's dower—Her accouchement—Death—Interment—Death of Humphrey—Elizabeth's children.

THE Princess Elizabeth is the first to introduce to our notice a name afterwards so famous in the annals of female royalty in England. It seems to have been conferred upon her as a matter of taste, since none of her

relations are known to have borne that name; but Edward I., amidst his large family of daughters, of whom this princess was the youngest but one, had already found opportunities of complimenting his female relatives, by naming his children after them. Some confusion exists among the ancient historians about the appellation of this child. A contemporary, and usually very accurate chronicler, Bartholomew of Norwich, tells us that the queen called her infant by the barbarous name of Walkiniana¹; others again call her Isabella; but, in the wardrobe accounts, and all other state records, she is invariably designated Elizabeth.

The birth of Prince Edward of Carnarvon in Wales, and the ingenuity with which Edward I. endeavoured to palm the infant upon the people of that unhappy province, as a Welsh-born prince, are facts familiar to every reader of history; but it is not equally well known, that two years previously, the king had a daughter, who was a native of Wales. The gentle and high-minded Queen Eleanora of Castile was ever wont to be the companion of her husband, wherever his chivalric wanderings led him; and, whether in war or peace, she was seldom many days absent from his side. Accordingly, when the Welsh war, which was then raging, compelled the monarch to advance into the disturbed province, though the queen was near her *accouchement*, yet, like a true-hearted soldier's wife, she insisted on accompanying him. They spent the month of June at Chester, where a train of nobles and barons, and an army, one of the largest that had ever been seen in England, was convened to meet them; and, thus attended, they set forth, towards the close of the month, for Wales².

Rhudlan castle which had been recently erected by the

¹ Cott. MS., Nero, b. v., p. 204.

² Chron. Hagureb, Cott. MS., Vesp., b. xi., p. 27.

English king, as one of the line of fortresses by means of which he hoped to bridle and tame the patriotic spirits of the brave Cambrians, was appointed as the head-quarters of the queen; but in her journeyings in the wild country which was the theatre of war, she was subjected to inconveniences and dangers that but few of our modern *belles* would have courage to encounter. She was at one time housed in a camp hastily erected on the open ground, which was so damp, that the floor had to be strewn with chalk instead of rushes; and a temporary fence of twenty wine-casks was placed round her court-yard to defend her from any hasty attack or alarm. She travelled through Carnarvon to Rhudlan¹, where, in August 1282, she gave birth to the Princess Elizabeth². The festival of her purification, which was held about the 8th of September, was celebrated with much splendour: fifty-one minstrels from different parts of England were gathered together, and the hall of the rude Welsh fortress rang with their merriment; while numbers of the neighbouring poor flocked to the kitchen and buttery, to receive the portions of food which were doled out on the occasion. Masses were also performed before the queen, at which she presented costly offerings in token of thanksgiving for her recovery³.

The royal infant was but roughly cradled. Her whole nursery equipage consisted of a copper tankard, posnet, and bracket, with a few similar articles of inferior material. As soon as she was old enough to travel, she left Rhudlan, attended by Margaret de Burgh, who was probably her principal nurse, and another maiden, and proceeded through Flint, Chester, and Northwich, to Macclesfield, where she was soon joined by the queen her mother⁴. During her

¹ Archæologia, vol. xvi., p. 32.

² Chron. John Oxf., Cotton. MS., Nero, D. II., f. 232 b., col. 1.

³ Wardrobe Roll, Wales, 10—11 Edw. I., Miscel. Roll, No. 57, Tower.

⁴ Wardrobe, Wales, 10 and 11 Edw. I.

earlier years, Elizabeth was the constant companion of her mother, and, with her, paid several visits to the land of her nativity¹. For some time she enjoyed all the privileges which usually fall to the lot of the youngest child, until the birth of her brother, afterwards King Edward II., in 1284, when she was about two years old². She was with the queen at Carnarvon at the time of his birth, and accompanied him a few weeks afterwards from Carnarvon to Chester³. From his earliest infancy this young prince, the only survivor of the many fair sons of Edward I. by his first queen, and the sole male heir to the English crown, was treated with the greatest tenderness and distinction. It was thought unbefitting his state to reside in his father's court, and he had usually a separate establishment of his own, at one of the royal residences; over which, even when quite a child, he presided in mimic pomp, receiving and entertaining as his guests, many of the noblest of the land, who came to pay their respects to the young heir. His sister Elizabeth, to whom, as being nearest to him in age, he had early formed a strong attachment, was usually his associate. They lived together, travelled together, visited their father's court together, offered at the same shrines, and were served by the same attendants⁴. The result of this arrangement was, that Elizabeth, though a frequent visitant at court, was still in some degree removed from maternal influence, and left more at liberty to follow the bent of her own will, than were any of her sisters.

¹ Elemosyna Roll, 12 and 13 Edw. I., among the Pell records, Rolls House. Ward. Book, 13 Edw. I., f. 16. Miscel. Roll, No. 65, Tower.

² The Parliamentary Roll of the 3rd of Henry VI., memb. 12, when setting forth the claims for precedence in a dispute that arose on the point amongst the descendants of Edward I., expressly states that the Princess Elizabeth was two years older than her brother Edward.

³ Elemosyna Roll ut sup., Ward. fragm., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Wardrobe Accounts, *passim*.

The domestic records of the year 1290, the 18th of Edward I., being unusually ample, the details of Elizabeth's mode of life, which are therein contained, brief as they are, may be taken as a fair sample of her early career. At the beginning of the year, she and her brother were at court; on the 26th of February they went, in company with the king and queen, the Princesses Eleanor, Joanna, and Margaret, and their cousin Mary of Bretagne, to Abingdon, where they offered at the relics of St. Edmund. The king and queen travelled on to Hailes, where they presented offerings for all their children, and their niece, at the shrine, which was said to contain a drop of the true blood of Christ, a treasure so inestimable, that the monastery which had been fortunate enough to obtain it became one of the most famous in England¹. In April the royal family were all again assembled at Westminster, to celebrate the nuptials of the Princess Joanna. Elizabeth and her brother graced the bridal by their presence, and had suitable robes prepared for the occasion². They, with the rest of the royal family, commemorated the festival of Easter, at Woodstock; and after a few visits paid to the adjacent shrines³, the prince and his sister retired to their own establishment, removing from place to place as their fancy led them. Thus they passed the whole summer and autumn⁴, with exception of a visit to court, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Margaret to John of Brabant, after which Elizabeth accompanied her father and two of her sisters to St. Alban's, and then rejoined her brother⁵. She gave him a pledge of her childish affection by presenting him with a silver cup, which had been given her by the Abbot of Reading, and was one of

¹ Ward. Book, 18 Edward I., Miscel. Roll, No. 70, Tower.

² Ward. Book, 18 Edw. I., f. 10, Miscel. Roll, No. 71, Tower.

³ Ward. Book, 18 Edw. I., Miscel. Roll, No. 70, Tower.

⁴ Ward. Acct., 18 Edw. I., No. 2634, Queen's Rememb.

⁵ Ward. Book, 18, Edw. I., Miscell. Roll, No. 70, Tower.

the few articles she could call her own¹. Beside their occasional offerings, the prince and his sister each gave a penny per day, throughout the year, which was entrusted to the care of their chaplain to be employed for religious purposes². The lady Margaret spent some time with them, in the year 1293, at Mortlake, in Surrey³, as appears by the household roll of the prince for that year.

It is now time to revert to the matrimonial engagements of Elizabeth, which had been commenced when she was only two years old. Florence, Earl of Holland, had formed a connexion with England in 1284, by the betrothal of his daughter Margaret to Alphonso, son and heir of Edward I⁴, but the death of the prince, the same year, dissolved an alliance which was on many grounds very desirable. In April 1285, he renewed it in another form, by sending three ambassadors to England, to treat of a marriage between his young heir John and the Princess Elizabeth⁵. The proposals were favourably received, and in the following June King Edward sent over two knights to Holland, on the same business⁶. The conventions entered upon were that a settlement of 8000 livres

¹ Rymer Collectanea Addit, MS. 4574, f. 441, Cyrograph of the jewels of Edward, the king's son. Anno 18.

² Ward. Book, 18 Edw. 1., Miscel. Roll, No. 70, Tower. Among the miscellaneous rolls in the Tower is one entitled "Rotulus expens. familiæ regis commorantis apud Langle Anno 18." The word *familia* has usually been understood to apply to the king's children. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xv., p. 350.) In the wardrobe and household accounts, however, this word is applied principally, if not exclusively, to the domestics; all rolls belonging to the princes or princesses being headed "The roll of the household or wardrobe of the lord or lady, the king's son or daughter." On this account the contents of this document are passed over as irrelevant, there being ample evidence that the king's children were at court during Lent, the period to which the roll refers.

³ Household Roll of Prince Edward, 21 Edward I., Rolls House.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 646.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 652.

Ibid., vol. i., p. 658.

Tournois, annually, should be assigned to Elizabeth, in Holland, the payment of which was guaranteed, not only by Earl Florence, but for farther security, by the Earl of Flanders and the Duke of Brabant; and that her future husband should be sent over to England to receive his education. King Edward, on his side, offered to give 50,000 livres Tournois with his daughter, 10,000 to be paid on the arrival of young John in England; 10,000 more when he had reached the age of seven years; and the remaining 30,000 on their marriage; but, to induce the earl to send over his son immediately, the king stipulated that, if he did not come to England, no money should be paid till he was seven years old¹. The same policy which had induced Edward I. to secure the fidelity of the Duke of Brabant to the English party, in the impending struggle with France, actuated him on this occasion; and he was so far successful in his efforts, that, at a very early age, Prince John was sent over to receive nurture and education in the English court². Of the nature or extent of his intercourse with his future bride, no records remain. He seems to have resided altogether with the royal family, since no mention is made of a separate establishment for him, although he had his own suite of attendants, whose expenses, if not their salaries, appear to have been discharged by his father-in-law³. He did, occasionally, pay visits to his native country; from one of which he returned on the 25th of October, 1290⁴. On this occasion he was the bearer of some special mission from his father to the English king, at whose expense he travelled from London, the place of his landing, to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. i., pp. 658, 661.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 841.

³ A wardrobe fragment of the year 1295 mentions a payment of 14*l.* for robes and shoes for the "family of John of Holland." *Miscel. Documents*, 1st. series, No. 198, Chapter House.

⁴ Ward. Book, 18 Edw. I., f. 52, *Miscel. Roll*, No. 71, Tower.

Naseby, near Lincoln, where the court then resided for a short time¹.

In 1291 a circumstance occurred which led to much angry feeling between Edward I. and the Earl of Holland, and had an important bearing on the destinies of Florence and his son. On the death of Margaret, the maid of Norway, the last direct heiress to the Scottish crown, a number of rival competitors appeared to dispute the vacant throne; among these was the Earl of Holland, who was a descendant of Ada, daughter of Prince Henry, the brother of Malcolm II., and William I. Edward took upon himself the office of arbitrator of the numerous claimants, and his decision in behalf of John Baliol, was of course a source of disappointment to Florence, although he had pledged himself to abide by it, and a considerable sum of money was paid him on condition that he would relinquish his claim, which he accordingly did². The irritation of feeling thus produced was subsequently increased by some misunderstandings that arose in reference to commercial transactions, and the sale of wools; and Florence, dissatisfied and angry, was induced to forsake the English party, and join himself to that of France³.

In January 1295, he entered into an agreement with Philip le Bel, promising his assistance against the allies of England, though declining to engage in active warfare against the English king himself; in return for which service, Philip promised him a life annuity of 1000 livres; and also that, should this conduct cause the disruption of the English alliance into which he had entered for his son, he should receive in compensation, 25,000 livres

¹ Wardrobe Account, 18 Edward I., recently sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson.

² Vossius, *Annales Hollandiæ*, p. 160, *Chron. Willelmi Monachi*, *Matthæus Analecta*, vol. ii., p. 532. Avesbury, p. 16.

³ John de Beka, *Matthæus Analecta*, vol. iii., p. 184.

Tournois, the value at which he estimated the marriage¹. Upon this King Edward sent him a reproachful message, reminding him what a pledge was in his hands, even his son and only hope. Florence retorted his reproaches, and said that as for his son, he would not act in a dastardly manner, though the hope of the state was in the hands of his enemy².

When the king received this message, he summoned young John to his presence, and informed him of all that had transpired. The situation of the prince, who was thus an hostage in the hands of his father's foe, was sufficiently critical, but he was nothing daunted; he replied with firm constancy, that it had been his wish to remain a bond of union between his father and father-in-law, but since those hopes were frustrated, his place was to obey, not to choose; that he was in the hands of his father-in-law, and would act as he pleased. Edward, charmed with the spirit of the youth, renounced the idea of revenging upon him his father's misdeeds, and treated him with his wonted kindness³. He stirred up foreign enemies, however, against the Earl of Holland, until the latter became at length so exasperated, that he began seriously to entertain the idea of cutting off his son John from the succession, on account of his English education and associations, and substituting one of his bastard sons, Witte de Hasunstede, in his place⁴. In vain did King Edward write to him in urgent terms, warning him not

¹ Inventaire, vol. viii., p. 305, Art. I., Archives du Royaume, Paris. An abstract is printed in a valuable but unpublished work, for an inspection of which we are indebted to its author, M. Teulet, of the "Archives," containing a digest of all the records concerning England and Scotland preserved in that depository.

² Vossius, *Annales Hollandiæ*, pp. 163-4.

³ Spiegel Historial Lodewyk van Velthem, pp. 201-2. The chronicle is valuable as a contemporaneous authority, being written in 1316.

⁴ Chron. Petrob. Addit. MS., 6913, f. 71 b. Cerisier, *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, vol. i., p. 332.

to do anything detrimental to the interest of his young son, who had been nurtured by himself from his earliest years, and whom, therefore, he felt himself bound especially to protect.¹ Florence still persisted; but this scheme roused such vehement indignation among the Hollanders, that it proved the ultimate ruin of its author. A secret conspiracy was formed; and it is darkly rumoured that it was encouraged, if not set on foot, by Edward I., to vindicate the rights of his daughter and son-in-law². The object of the plot was to seize Earl Florence and confine him a close prisoner either in Holland or England, and to elevate Prince John to the earldom³. It was within a hair's breadth of failure, owing to the fidelity of a poor woman, who, having become acquainted with it, put into the hands of the earl a paper containing these words, "Royal offspring, illustrious prince, remember the prophecy of the Psalmist, 'The man of my peace, in whom I have hoped, hath lifted up his heel against me.'" The heedless earl neglected this obscure but timely warning; he fell into the hands of the conspirators, who, fearing the success of an attempt that was made to rescue him, consulted their own safety by murdering their unfortunate victim, with many circumstances of atrocious cruelty⁴.

¹ Rot. Alem., 22—31 Edw. I., m. 16.

² A letter written by Edward to the King of the Romans appears to strengthen this supposition. He complains bitterly of the ingratitude of Florence, and beseeches him to prevent anything being done to the injury of young John, adding "For we hope that rather in the person of the son than the father, safety to the state may be found." *Fæd.*, vol. i., p. 841.

³ Vossius, pp. 166-8. Cerisier, vol. i., p. 333. An ancient MS. chronicle of Holland gives a different version of the affair, and attributes the murder of Earl Florence to the vengeance of one of his ministers, Gherard de Valsen, who indignantly refused to marry a former mistress of the earl; and, to punish him for the refusal, Florence afterwards basely violated his wife, to fulfil his angry declaration that Gherard *should* marry a mistress of his. Cotton. MS., Vitell. A. vi., fol. 111.

⁴ Beka, Chron. de Episcop. Ultraj., p. 98. Vossius, p. 173. Chron. Holl., Cott. MS., Vitellius, E. vi., f. 111. b.

This happened in the year 1296, about the month of August. The nobles of Holland wrote immediately to the king, begging that their true lord, the son and heir of the deceased earl, might be sent over without delay, and with a sufficient force, lest his enemies should seize him by the way¹.

Whatever share Edward might really have taken in this criminal transaction, he disavowed it entirely. In his reply to the states of Holland he expressed his great grief at the horrible death of Earl Florence; at the same time, taking upon himself the office of guardian to the young earl, he sent a pressing request that the principal nobles of Holland and Zealand², with two burgesses from every city in Holland, would come over to meet him at St. Edmund's Bury, to consult on the affairs of the province³, especially in reference to the marriage convention between John and Elizabeth. His call was responded to by the arrival in England of a large number of the nobles and citizens of Holland, headed by Thierry de Brederode, a patriotic Dutch nobleman, of ancient and even royal descent, who had equipped a fleet of ships at his own expense⁴. Their object was to prevail upon the king to permit the immediate return of Prince John⁵, fearing that his uncle, John d'Avennes, Earl of Hainault, who had

¹ Fœdera, vol. i., p. 841.

² Ibid., pp. 846-7.

³ Rot. Aleman, 22—31 Edw. I., m. 15, sub anno 24.

⁴ Chron. Wil. Mon. Matthæus, Analecta, vol. ii., p. 541. The family of Brederode descended from Ziffrid, second son of Arnold, Earl of Holland, in 988. The name is said to be derived from the *breede roode*, or broad rood, with which his father measured out the lands he assigned to him. *Petit J. la Grande Chron. de Hollande*. A contemporary writer records with interest the circumstance that he was accompanied by a giant, Nicolas Kyten, of such stature, that tall men could walk under his arms, and children ventured to peep at his back, but not to look him in the face, yet his temper was mild and gentle. *John of Leyden, Sweet's hronicles*, p. 233.

⁵ John of Leyden's Chronicle, Matthæus, Anal., vol. i., pp. 624-5

assumed the regency, would aspire to the ultimate possession of the earldom¹. Edward exerted himself warmly in behalf of his son-in-law. He sent messengers to settle all disputes existing between Holland and Brabant², and wrote to the King of the Romans, entreating him, on account of the tender age of the young earl, to restore to him some lands belonging to Holland, although he could not at present perform in person the accustomed homage for them³. He also wrote letters of thanks and encouragement to Loef de Cleve, the principal noble of Holland, who had watched over the affairs of the province, promising the speedy return of Earl John⁴.

Meanwhile, preparations were made for solemnizing the nuptials of John with the Princess Elizabeth, previously to his departure for Holland. He had spent some time in London, in company with the knights, soldiers, and burghesses of Holland; they attended him to Colchester, and thence to Ipswich to meet the king⁵. The princess and her ladies and damsels came by water, in rowing-boats, from Harwich to Ipswich, where they arrived on or before the 30th of December⁶, their baggage being conveyed in three waggons along with them⁷. Elizabeth's jewels were sent direct from London in a five-horsed chariot⁸. The king wrote to the Bishop of London and several other prelates and nobles, summoning them to meet him at Ipswich, to celebrate the marriage⁹. There were present on the

¹ Vossius, pp. 182-3.

² Rot. Aleman., 22—31 Edw. I., mm. 15 d., 14 d., Fœdera, vol. i., p. 853.

³ Fœdera, vol. i., p. 835. Rot. Alem., 22—31 Edw. I., m. 15.

⁴ Ibid., vol. i., pp. 847, 854.

⁵ Wardrobe Book, 25 Edw. I., ff. 13 b., 152.

⁶ Elizabeth had mass performed before her at Ipswich on that day by Robert de Reading. *Ward. Book*, ut sup., f. 137.

⁷ Ibid., f. 14.

⁸ Ibid., f. 13 b.

⁹ Fœdera, vol. i., p. 850.

occasion, the king himself, his son Prince Edward, his daughter Margaret, Duchess of Brabant, and a large assemblage of Dutch nobles, besides many of the magnates of England. Among these last were Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Marshal of England; Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, the constable; De Vere, Earl of Oxford; and the Countesses of Norfolk, Cornwall and Oxford¹.

The marriage took place in the priory church of Ipswich, on Monday, the 8th January, 1297², and at the close of the ceremony high mass was performed, and offerings made at the great altar of the church. As usual, money was placed upon the missal with the spousal ring, and when the bridal *cortége* left the church, large sums were squandered among the crowds who were gathered together to gratify their curiosity by a sight of the royal bride. The king kept open house in honour of the day, and all the friars of Ipswich, friars preachers, friars minors, and Carmelites, were feasted at his expense³. The revels of the court were characterized by the tumultuous mirthfulness of the age. Minstrels, trumpeters, harpers, fiddlers, guitar players, tabourers and fools, played their parts, some of whom were usually in the king's service, others were hired from different English nobles⁴. The bridal bed of the princess was valued at twenty marks, and it was redeemed by the king from Lord Peter of Champvent, to whom it belonged as his fee⁵. The expenses of the wedding were cheerfully contributed by the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were gratified by the presence of the court for so long a period in their district⁶.

¹ Rot. Claus., 25 Edw. I., m. 26 dorso.

² Fœdera, vol. i., p. 850. Ward. Book, 25 Edward I., f. 6. b. Leland's Collect. vol. i., p. 180.

³ Ward. Book, ut sup. Addit. MS., 7965, Brit. Mus.

⁴ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., f. 52.

⁵ Ibid., f. 56 b.

⁶ Barthol. Norw., Cott. MS., Nero, c. v., f. 243 b.

Several other weddings were celebrated at court about this time. On the 3rd of January, Eleanora de Burgh, daughter of the Lady Mandeville, was married to Melior de Birmingham. On the 6th, Margaret Sackville to Ronald Fitz-Alan. Elizabeth and her sister Margaret were present on these occasions, and each presented the fair brides, who had probably been their companions or ladies of honour, with a silver cup¹.

In the jeweller's account of 1297, is found a long list of plate and jewels provided for the Lady Elizabeth against her departure from England. For her chapel, hall, and kitchen, a magnificent set of gold and silver plate was prepared, all the cups, dishes, bowls, pitchers, chandeliers, chalices, patens, alms-dishes, &c., of which are inventoried at great length. The goldsmith also furnished tressures and other jewelled head-dresses, to the value of 20*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*² The manufacture of her bridal robes occupied thirty-five workman-tailors for four days and four nights; they were embroidered with silk, and profusely adorned with silver-gilt buttons³. Her coronal was of gold, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls⁴, but she was doomed to experience some crosses, in reference to her bridal trousseau, from the dilatoriness of her trades-people. A zone of pearls, which she was to have worn on her wedding-day, was not prepared in time, and the king gave her twelve marks to compensate for the disappointment⁵; and an ouche of gold was afterwards given to reconcile her to a similar disappointment about a jewelled clasp⁶.

It had been the intention of the king that his daughter should go to Holland with her bridegroom, but when the time of departure arrived, the young countess manifested

¹ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., ff. 137-8.

² Jeweller's Acct., 24—25 Edw. I., Miscel. Roll, Tower, No. 91.

³ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., f. 20.

⁴ Ibid., f. 143.

⁵ Ibid., f. 56b.

⁶ Ibid., f. 137.

a strong repugnance to leave England, even though all the vessels were already assembled which were to transport her to her new home¹. It was on this occasion, as seems probable from the coincidence of dates, that a scene of angry altercation took place between her and her father, in which the wrath of the impatient monarch was so roused that he snatched the gemmed coronet which encircled the brow of his daughter, and flung it into the fire. It was speedily rescued, but not before two of the stones, a ruby and an emerald, had been lost². But Elizabeth was his youngest daughter and favourite child—the quarrel was soon made up, and the king permitted her to remain with him until his approaching visit to the continent, when it was arranged that she should accompany him³.

The departure of Earl John took place within a week or two after his marriage, from the port of Harwich. He pledged himself, in the presence of Brederode and the other commissioners, that when he arrived in his own country he would adopt as his counsellors those who were appointed by the king, and would in all respects follow their advice⁴; and also, that through the medium of King Edward, he would amicably settle some disputes which had arisen between Holland and Brabant⁵. The king paid him 5,640 livres Tournois, part of the portion of Elizabeth which still remained undischarged, considerable remittances having been made during the preceding years⁶. He authorized two messengers to go over with the earl, to see that Elizabeth's dower of 8000 livres was properly assigned her, and she united with him in a formal demand that the manor of the Hague and all the other lands agreed upon

¹ Orig. Letters, Tower, uncalendared.

² Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., f. 15 b. Jeweller's Acct., 24—25 Edw. I.

³ Orig. Letters, ut supra, date January 29.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 854.

⁵ Rot. Alem., 22—31, Edw. I., m. 15.

⁶ Rot. exit., 26 Edw. I., Mich. 6000. Ibid. Pasch., 5000 were paid.

should be made over to her to the amount above specified¹. This request of his bride received the early attention of Earl John on his arrival in Holland, and on the 4th of the following May the whole of her dower lands were placed in the possession of her attorneys². The king gave the earl several parting presents of plate and riding equipments, amongst which was a new saddle, studded with pearls and embroidered with the royal arms of England, the harness and reins being of silk³. Prince Edward also presented him with a golden cup⁴. He sailed in the splendid vessel which had been prepared for him and Elizabeth, attended by all the Dutch nobles in several other vessels, Dutch and English; arrived in safety at his own dominions, and landed in Zealand⁵. He immediately dispatched a messenger to bear to his countess the tidings of his prosperous voyage. Elizabeth, with her brother the prince, had been spending some time at Windsor, while King Edward went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham⁶; but she was at Langley, with her father, when the messenger from Holland arrived on the 18th of February. The king gave him ten shillings for his good tidings, and Elizabeth presented him with fifty more. This, however, was not a voluntary offering on her part, but given in obedience to the command of her father⁷. Several circumstances connected with the conduct of John and Elizabeth, about the time of their marriage, argue that no great warmth of attachment subsisted between them; but they were both

¹ Foedera, vol. i., p. 355. Patent Roll, 25 Edw. III., m. 20.

² Patent Roll, 10 Edw. II., pt. 1 m. 11. per inspefimus.

³ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., ff. 53 b., 136 b., 14. Ward. Fragm., 25 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Ward. Book, ut sup., f. 142 b. The king gave robes and shoes to his clerk, eleven valets, and many other servants. *Ibid.* ff. 41 b., 125.

⁵ Chron. Holl., Cott. MS., Vitell., E. vi., f. 113. Chron. Egmond Matthæus, Analecta, vol. i., p. 625.

⁶ Barthol. Norw., Cott. MS., Nero, C. v., f. 243 b. Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., f. 7.

⁷ Ward. Book, ut sup., f. 54.

very young; the princess had but just completed her 15th year, and her spouse was only a year older than herself¹.

King Edward had purposed to go to the continent in the month of May², but he was unexpectedly detained in England; and, consequently, Elizabeth remained with him. During the intervening months we find her at Langley, Fulham, Lambeth, Westminster³, London⁴, Canterbury, and Winchester. At several of these places she gave offerings at the different religious shrines, and presented alms to the poor⁵. In June, after having staid a short time at Fulham, nineteen sailors were hired for two days to row her from thence to Lambeth. While at Langley, in July, she received a farewell visit from her sister Mary⁶. About the beginning of August, preparations were commenced for the departure of the king and the princess. On the 2nd of that month, her plate and jewels were formally delivered up by John de Drokeneford, the keeper of the king's wardrobe, to Lord John of Weston, her attorney. The inventory of these precious goods is very long. All the plate above recorded is minutely specified; also a silver cross, bearing the image of Christ, for her chapel; the zone of pearls, about which she had previously suffered a disappointment; a purse wrought with the arms of England in pearls; four rings; and sixteen clasps⁷. A new chariot was bought for Elizabeth, price 22*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, and horses, twenty-six in number, some for

¹ He was born in 1281. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xiv., p. 441.

² Orig. Letters, Tower, uncalendared.

³ Ward. Acct., 25 Edw. I., No. 2174, Queen's Rememb. Ibid., No. 2535, 27—28 Edw. III., but mentioning the payment of the expenses of the Countess of Holland, at Westminster, before the king's passage to Flanders, in the 25th year.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., ff. 7, 10, 19, 151, b.

⁶ Ibid., ff. 19, 27, b.

⁷ Memorandum de liberatione jocalium ad opus dominæ Elizabethæ, Comitissæ Hollandiæ, transfretantis versus partes proprias. *Roll* 2270, *Queen's Rememb.*

the chariot, some for the saddle, others for the baggage-carts, and others to carry her chapel furniture, pantry-linen, plate, kitchen utensils, candles, benches for her hall, water vessels, &c. The total value was 150*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*¹ Amidst these costly articles it is amusing to meet with entries of sums paid for brass bowls and posnets, a hatchet to cleave bones, a gridiron, a planing iron, a mortar, and other items of more homely furniture purchased for her².

The royal party set sail on Friday the 23rd of August, and, that day, masses were celebrated, and one hundred and forty poor people fed, to procure for them a safe and favourable passage³. The king had with him a fleet of 500 vessels, containing 1,800 knights and innumerable foot-soldiers, whom he carried over to prosecute his continental contests⁴. The countess was accompanied by the Lady Isabella de Vescy, who had formerly attended her sister Margaret to Brabant; and by four other persons⁵. Their voyage seems to have been tedious. They landed at Helvoet Sluys on or before the 28th of August; were at Hardenburgh on the 29th; thence went to Bruges, where we find them on the 4th of September. Here they were warned that snares awaited them from the French party; they therefore decamped quickly and cautiously⁶, and passed through Antwerp, Malines, Louvaine, and Brussels, till on the 9th of the same month they reached the city of Ghent, where the king took up his quarters for some months, Elizabeth still remaining with him⁷. She devoted herself with more than her

¹ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. I., ff. 22, 23.

² Ibid., f. 23.

³ Ibid., f. 11. Matt. Westm., p. 420. The Close Roll, 25 Edw. I., m. 7, says the 25th, and the Patent Roll, pl. 2, m. 7, the 22nd of August.

⁴ Matt. Westm., p. 430.

⁵ Rot. Pat., 25 Edw. I., p. 2, m. 9.

⁶ Matt. Westm., p. 431.

⁷ Ward. Book, 25 Edw. ff. 10, 18.

wonted assiduity to religious exercises. She assembled the friars, preachers of Ghent, on the 9th of September, to celebrate masses, in her presence, for the soul of her mother, Queen Eleanora; on the 22nd of October she offered 7s. at a convent of nuns, situated a little distance from the city; and on the 1st of November gave 6s. 8d. at masses celebrated in her own private chapel¹.

It will be remembered that Elizabeth, in conformity with the pious custom of the times, always carried about with her the apparatus for her chapel; and, in addition to the requisite plate, &c., she was provided with books for the service, which had cost 12l.² The infrequency of any mention of missals and psalters connected with the other paraphernalia for the celebration of the mass, leads to the supposition that the officiating ecclesiastics were often so well versed in the service, that they were able to go through it without books, whilst their hearers in general, even those of the highest rank, were too illiterate to be able to use them. The time and labour, too, employed in the transcription of these often richly-illuminated volumes were so great, that their cost far exceeded the capabilities of ordinary purchasers; and they were entirely confined to the monasteries or to the wealthy.

While the king and his daughter were at Ghent, an entry occurs of sums paid to William Melton for apples, pears, nuts, dates, &c., for their use³. Fruit was sometimes employed medicinally, as appears from another entry of payments to Richard de Monte, an apothecary of London, for pomegranates, pomegranate wine, electuaries, and other *medicines* for the King Edward and his daughter Elizabeth⁴.

Frequent communications had passed between the Earl

¹ Ward. Book, 10 b.

² Ibid., f. 56 b.

³ Ibid., f. 28.

⁴ Ibid., f. 28.

of Holland and Edward I. since the departure of the former from England¹; and the king had ordered the restoration of several Dutch vessels, which had been taken while enmity subsisted between the two states². It is uncertain at what time Elizabeth left her father's court to join that of her husband, but it is probable that she remained at Ghent to share in the Christmas festivities there, when her two sisters, the Duchesses of Bar and Brabant, were also present. Her departure must have taken place early in 1298, for the king left Flanders for England on the 14th of March³. She was sent for by her husband as soon as he felt himself firmly settled in his dominions; and was escorted, with great honour, by many of the English nobility⁴. Elizabeth was still very young, but in person extremely lovely; and her beauty—a quality always more warmly appreciated when combined with dignity of birth—excited much admiration on the part of her new subjects⁵.

From the first arrival of the young Earl John in his own dominions, he had displayed a pliability of temper, and a willingness to be guided by others, which scarcely deserve the name of weakness in one so young, but which had a disastrous influence upon his future reign. It required a firmer hand than that of a youth of sixteen years of age successfully to wield the sceptre of Holland, amidst the struggle of parties which had for some time convulsed the state. A feeble prince is ever guided by such counsellors as combine energy with suppleness of character, and can at once ingratiate themselves with their master,

¹ Ward. Book, f. 108 b. *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 857.

² Rot. Claus., 25 Edw. I., mm. 21, 16. Quarrels had been frequent between the Dutch and English for some years. See Rot. Pat., 3 Edw. I., m. 23, *cedula*, and many other rolls *passim*.

³ Rot. Claus., 26 Edw. I., m. 13.

⁴ Melis Stoke, *Hollandtsche Rim Kronick*, f. 51.

⁵ Chron. Wil. Mon., Matthæus, Anal., vol. ii., p. 541.

and afford to his wavering mind the stay of a more powerful intellect; and rarely, if ever, has it occurred that these elements of favouritism have been blended with real nobleness of heart, and a patriotic desire to exercise the influence thus obtained for the general weal rather than for individual aggrandizement. Prince John of Holland was of a temperament to be thus led, and he found an enterprising genius, eager to take the reins of government out of his hand.

Wolphard de Borsolen, Lord of Vere, was a noble possessed of extensive estates in Zealand as well as in Holland. He first appears on the stage of history in the time of Earl Florence, on account of some disputes he had with the earl in reference to his estates in Zealand, for which he had paid allegiance to the Earl of Flanders. The feudal supremacy of these lands had long been a subject of contention between the two powers, and it was only by the mediation of Edward I. that Wolphard had been reconciled to his liege lord¹. The English king was too clear-sighted in his discernment of character not to appreciate the foibles of his son-in-law; and, although he had received from him a promise to be guided in all things by his counsel², yet he feared the influence of Brederode and his party, who were inclined to the French side, and therefore took pains to secure a powerful counter-interest near the person of the earl. Wolphard presented himself as a ready agent. Edward possessed a strong hold upon the fidelity of this noble from the following circumstance. Wolphard had two sons who were then prisoners in France; and the king sent him a letter-patent, by which he pledged himself not to make peace with France, till these youths were liberated³.

¹ Kluit, Codex Diplomaticus Hollandiæ, pp. 902, 973, 980.

² Fœdera, vol. i., p. 854. Cerisier, vol. i., p. 347.

³ Rot. Aleman., 22—31 Edw. 1., m. 15 sub anno 25. A curious instance of diplomatic tact on the part of Edward I. occurs in this

The first landing of Earl John in Zealand instead of Holland, though seemingly accidental, and the result of stress of weather, was really a concerted scheme; in order that he might at once be placed in the hands of this ambitious noble, who was waiting to greet him, and who at once gained a powerful influence over him¹. By his means, Brederode, the true-hearted friend who had exerted himself so effectually in promoting the return of Earl John, was subjected to an honourable banishment by an appointment as governor over a distant province, and the new favourite reigned unrivalled². It were tedious and irrelevant to enter upon the troubles that ensued, owing to the grasping and rapacious character of Borsolen. He exercised an absolute power in the province, making use of the earl's name and seal to authenticate his deeds. He even, occasionally, exercised personal constraint upon his master, when such a step was necessary to forward his designs³; but, on account of the earl's devoted attachment to him, this was seldom required. At the same time he took care to banish from court those from whose counter-influence he had anything to fear. In military contests the regency of Borsolen was eminently vigorous and successful. Under his auspices a splendid victory was gained in Zealand over the Frisians, who, though nominally the subjects of Earl John, had rebelled from their allegiance, and thrown themselves under the protection of the Earl of Flanders; they were defeated with great slaughter, and a

transaction. The patent had been drawn out in England, and he gave it in charge to the unsuspecting Brederode, instructing him to *show* it to the anxious father, but not on any account to *give* it to him until he (the king) could be assured that Wolphard had both the power and the willingness to render effectual services in return. On this point, however, Edward was soon convinced.

¹ Dujardin, *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, vol. i., p. 235. Matthæus, *Anal. Veteris Ævi*, vol. v., p. 549.

² Vossius, *Annales Hollandiæ*, p. 182.

³ Vossius, p. 183. Joann. a Leydis. Matthæus, *Anal.*, vol. i., p. 625.

peace concluded on terms very favourable to Holland¹. The Earl of Flanders also consented to renounce the long-disputed supremacy over the Isles of Zealand, on condition that he and his sons should be exonerated from the share they had in the imprisonment and murder of Earl Florence². On the subject of his father's cruel death the feelings of Earl John appear to have been keenly alive; feelings the more creditable to him, because the attempts made by that father to deprive him of his lawful inheritance might, in one of less amiable temper, have led to very different emotions. Though he had nominally pardoned several nobles who had participated in the murder, yet when they ventured to make their appearance before him, he kept his eyes steadfastly fixed upon the ground so long as they remained in his presence, and refused to hold any intercourse with them³. In a charter of privileges which he granted to the city of Dort, he excepted from its benefits all those who had shared in the guilty deed⁴, and made a solemn vow never to hold peace or truce with them⁵. One of the few independent acts of his government was to remove the body of his father from Alcmæer, where it had lain embalmed in unburied state, and to procure for it a splendid and honourable interment in a princely tomb at Rheinburg, beside that of the Countess Beatrice, his mother⁶.

¹ Beka, *Chron. de Episcop. Ultraj.*, p. 101. Cronyck von Vriesland, fol. Amst., 1597, f. 35. Barlandus, *libelli tres*. Balthasar, *Généal. des Comtes de Hollande*, p. 42. The opposing armies were so numerous and well equipped, that some soldiers who were fighting in the ranks of Earl John, made a song, the burden of which was a lament that the subjects of the same prince should thus rise up in arms against each other; since, were they but united, they might march through England in the face of all opposition. *Chron. Wil. Mon., Matthæus, Anal.*, vol. ii., p. 546.

² Kluit, *Codex Diplom.*, pp. 903, 991, 997.

³ Cerisier, vol. i., p. 353.

⁴ Buxhornzuerius, *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, pp. 99, 100.

⁵ Sellius, *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, vol. iii., p. 247.

⁶ Dujardin, vol. i., p. 238. Vossius, p. 186. Die Cronycke von Hol-

Meanwhile, the Countess Elizabeth dwelt neglected and often alone at her palace of the Hague. This palace was built by William, Earl of Holland, and King of the Romans, the grandfather of Earl John, who had removed the court thither from Haarlem. A quaint old Dutch writer assures us that it was so formed that neither rot nor filth could consume its beams, nor could spiders defile it with their webs. If so, it is certainly a pity that the secret of its construction has been lost. He adds that it had a large park well stocked with animals, and that the neighbouring groves were alike delightful for walking or for hunting. As to the city itself, John Gerbrand, a contemporary poet of Leyden, eulogizes it as one of the loveliest in the world, but especially commends the beauty of its surrounding woods; declaring, that had he the skill of Orpheus, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, or any other most famed in literature, he could not sufficiently commend their picturesque variety¹. In this pleasant abode Elizabeth lived in deep retirement, taking no share in public affairs, and probably debarred from frequent intercourse with her husband by the favourite whom she both feared and hated; whilst she had the additional mortification of reflecting that it was by her father's influence, in the first instance, that this person had been placed near the young earl.

At length, the intolerant character of Wolphard's domestic government roused the Hollanders beyond all bounds of endurance; and a general sedition was the result. It was headed by Wolphard's own son-in-law,

lant, p. 108. Swertius rer. Belg. Annales, p. 228. Stoke, Hollandtsche Rym. Chronick, p. 51.

¹ Buxhornzuerius. Theatrum Hollandiæ, p. 351. The following hexameters were written in praise of the Hague:—

“Pulchri adspectus nemorum quos possidet Haga,
Astrææ Venerisque Deæ gratissima sedes,
Haga voluptatum genitrix, genetrixque laborum, &c.”

¶ *Hegenitius, Itiner. Frisio-Hollandicum*, p. 31.

Voorne; who, having overheard him urging Earl John to establish a despotic power in Holland, spread the tidings, which proved a spark that kindled the flame of rebellion.

The earl was then at Dort, but Wolphard hastened to carry him away to Zeeland, where his own interests were the strongest, breaking down the bridges in his rear for fear of pursuit. Elizabeth had been left behind at the Hague. When the news of the tumult reached her she was greatly distressed. The melancholy fate of Earl Florence, who fell a victim to domestic conspiracy, was vividly recalled to her memory; and, wandering up and down her stately halls, she gave utterance to loud and bitter lamentations, bewailing the fate of her husband, and accusing Wolphard of treason for endeavouring to precipitate the earl in his own impending calamities. When the first transports of her passion had subsided, she resolved to exert herself to the utmost to retrieve the fortunes of her lord. She called together her friends, and besought them with tears, for the love of her, and for the safety of Holland, to institute a hot pursuit, and rescue the earl from the power of the bold, bad man, who was fast urging him on to destruction. Meanwhile, Voorne had arrived at the Hague; he flung himself at the feet of the countess, and entreated her to hasten to the market-place, to tell the people what had transpired, and urge them to the pursuit. In the excitement of the moment, girlish timidity was forgotten; she rushed to the most public part of the city, and with all the energy of despairing grief, appealed to the assembled multitudes for instant aid. The tears of their young countess, then only sixteen years of age, had been hard to withstand, had her cause been less in accordance with the sympathies of those whom she addressed; but when they heard her entreating them to rescue her husband and their prince from the very man whom they

hated, they rose in tumultuous enthusiasm to avenge alike her wrongs and their own. They instituted forthwith a diligent chase¹. Wolphard, for greater safety, had embarked with his master on board a vessel, and was sailing for Sweden; but a dead calm came on; not a breath of air wafted the idly-flapping sails, the ship lay like a log on the surface of the unruffled waters, in spite of the frantic impatience of its passengers, while the boats of the pursuers came up apace, and the swift sharp strokes of their oars struck dismay and agony into the heart of him who knew too well that the deadliest vengeance awaited him, should he fall into their hands. Escape was impossible. The infuriated assailants surrounded the vessel on every side, threatening its instant destruction unless Wolphard were delivered up to them, which was therefore done². But their mission was not yet fulfilled. They wished to restore to the countess the husband she so bitterly bewailed, and they accordingly persuaded the earl, though with some difficulty, to return to her at the Hague. After this they executed summary justice on Wolphard, by inflicting on him the penalty his crimes had merited. This scene took place in the month of August, 1299³.

The Hollanders had now learned by experience that their earl did not possess the capacity requisite for unaided rule; and, fearful of again falling into the hands of a favourite, they held a council, in which it was determined that John d'Avennes, Earl of Hainault, uncle of young John, and in right of his wife heir presumptive to the earldom of Holland, should be invited to assume the office of guardian⁴. The next point was to persuade

¹ Dujardin, vol. i., p. 244. Cerisier, vol. i., p. 353. Vossius, p. 199.

² Vossius, p. 200.

³ Eyndius, Chron. Zelandiæ, p. 253.

⁴ He was the husband of Aleidis, daughter of William, Earl of Holland, and sister of Florence V., on the failure of whose issue she was the heiress of Holland. *Miræus, Chron. Belg.*, pp. 243-4.

Earl John to consent to their arrangement. Elizabeth was very anxious to secure for her husband a person of ability and reputation to support him, and she warmly seconded the wishes of the lords. The proposition was readily accepted by the young earl. His easy temper led him lightly to pass over the murder of his favourite; and, always guided by his latest counsellors, he was quite willing to follow out their suggestion¹.

The countess, drawn by recent circumstances from the privacy in which she had previously lived, had shown so much energy and presence of mind in the hour of trial, that she seems henceforth to have been treated with more respectful attention and deference. The document devolving the regency upon John d'Avennes, runs in her name as well as that of the earl. "We, John, Earl of Holland and Zealand, and Lord of Friesland, and we, Elizabeth, countess, and lady of the same places," &c., and towards the close, the earl says that these letters are made at the petition of his dear lords and his beloved wife; and their seals as well as his own were appended to it. It is dated the vigils of St. Jude, October 27th, 1299². The very same day, John d'Avennes confirmed the charter of his nephew, by which the dowry lands of the Countess Elizabeth were secured to her³.

Elizabeth's seal as Countess of Holland, has been engraved by Olivarius Uredius in his "*Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ*"⁴. The figure is full length, the hair confined in knots on each side of the face, but concealed by a hood, which covers the head, and is fastened under the chin, leaving only an opening shaped like the vizor of a helmet

¹ Vossius, p. 201.

² Uredius has printed extracts from this document, which is written in the old vernacular Dutch, in his *Genealogia*, vol. ii., p. 34. The original is preserved among the archives of Hainault.

³ Rot. Pat., 10 Edw. ii., p. 1, m. 2, per inspeximus.

⁴ Vol. i., p. 80., see the Frontispiece.

for the face; the countenance is juvenile, but mournful, and almost haggard in its expression. The tunic is worn loose and reaching to the ground, with tight sleeves; the mantle, which is lined with miniver fur, hangs on the shoulders, fastened by a band which passes across the bosom, and which the countess holds in her right hand; on her left wrist is perched a falcon. No zone nor any ornament whatever decorates her person. The legend round the seal is S. Elizabet. Comitissæ Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ & Dne. Frisiæ.—“The seal of Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Zealand, and lady of Friesland.” The seal is also decorated with two shields bearing the arms of Holland and England. Another sketch of the Princess Elizabeth may be found in one of the Harleian MSS¹, where the four married daughters of Edward I. are delineated by a contemporaneous and very rude hand. The heads only are given; the style of dressing the hair is very similar to that already described, the head-dress consisting of a sort of net-work instead of the hood.

When the Earl of Hainault arrived in Holland, Elizabeth accompanied Earl John to receive and welcome him with all possible honour. They went together to Dort, where Avennes was formally invested with the regency, for the four years that still remained before the earl became of age². The new regent read his nephew a long lecture on the misdemeanours of his former government, occasioned by his unbounded partiality for Wolphard; excusing him, however, on account of his tender age; but begging him to deprive the heirs of the unpopular minister of all his late possessions, to which request the earl assented³. A strong proof of the indignation with which Wolphard's rule was regarded

¹ No. 3,860.

² Cerisier, vol. i., p. 359.

³ Vossius, p. 202.

exists in the fact, that every state-deed that had passed since the death of Earl Florence was revoked, and the seal that had authenticated them broken in pieces, never to be used again¹.

Under the tutelage of John d'Avennes, the tide of affairs went on smoothly enough. He superintended the transaction of public business; his seal was appended to every deed in conjunction with that of the earl, and the style adopted in public acts was, "We, John, Earl of Holland and Zealand, Lord of Friesland, declare that by the authority and consent of the right high John d'Avennes, our dear cousin, by whose consent we do everything² &c. The earl retired to Haarlem to enjoy the leisure thus afforded him, and to amuse himself with his favourite recreation of hunting.

But though he had patiently submitted to allow Borsolen to exercise unlimited authority, even over himself, when all was done under his own name, he became restive when not only deprived of the reality, but the semblance of power, and scarcely was the ink dry on the contract of regency, before he manifested impatience to have the rule restored to him. The Earl of Hainault, upon this, hastened to Dort, and sent to request his nephew to meet him there, promising to relinquish to him the government. Earl John apprehended treachery, and refused compliance, but summoned his uncle to meet him at Rotterdam, stipulating that under the safe-guard of a truce, he should not be attended by more than 100 men. The latter replied that where there was no enmity, there was no need of a truce. The rulers of Dort interposed their influence,—“Oh noble prince,” said they to the Earl of Hainault, “if thou wilt meet thy nephew the Earl of

¹ Vossius, p. 202.

² L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xiv., p. 441. A diploma in this form is printed by Keygersbergen, Chronyck van Zeelandt, p. 104, and another by Scriverius, Graven van Holland, vol. i., p. 586.

³ Scriverius, Harlemum, p. 205.

Holland, in Rotterdam, we will accompany thee thither with all our power." "It is better that I wait until he comes to me," was the reply of the regent; but after having waited a few days longer, and Earl John not appearing, he retired to Hainault, leaving his nephew in quiet possession of a power which he did not choose openly to contest¹. A very short period transpired before this sunshine of seeming tranquillity was interrupted by the sudden and dangerous illness of the Earl of Holland. He was then staying at Haarlem, and was seized by a dysentery, which in a short time carried him off, on the vespers of St. Martin, November 10th, 1299². Strong suspicions existed that there had been foul play in the business; and although the Earl of Hainault was absent in France, at the time of his nephew's death, there were dark surmisings as to the share he had taken in a catastrophe, contributing so greatly to his own aggrandizement. But though conjectures were many, proof seems to have been wanting, and therefore charity would lead to a more favourable construction of the event³.

The deceased earl was honourably interred at Dort⁴. His death was a subject of regret to his people, for they attributed all the failings of his former rule to the misdemeanours of Wolphard, and his mild temper had conciliated their affection, if it failed to secure their respect.

On the death of her husband, the tie that bound Elizabeth to Holland was broken; for she had no child to succeed to the earldom. Her only care therefore was to secure to herself the handsome dower which had been assigned to

¹ Sweert, *Chronicles*, p. 230. Copies of this chronicle are but rarely to be met with. The above extracts were made from one preserved in the library of the Hotel de Ville, Antwerp.

² Vossius, p. 204. *Chron. Holl.* Cott. MS., Vitellius, E. VI., f. 114. Buxhornzuerius, *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, p. 132.

³ Vossius, *ut sup.*

⁴ Barlandus, *Hollandiæ Comitum Historia*, p. 44. Maeldwyck Cronycke.

her, and which, as countess-dowager, she was still to retain for life, and to return to her native land. But John d'Avennes, now Earl of Holland—heedless of the solemn engagements which had been sworn to, first by Earl Florence, and then by Earl John, and which, as their successor, he was bound to fulfil,—delayed to satisfy the just demands of the countess. She appealed to the king her father, to request his interference. Ever after the commencement of her widowhood, Elizabeth had been specially cared for by her father. He had sent over two ladies of high birth to companionate and comfort her¹, and he now exerted himself vigorously on her behalf. Many messengers and letters passed between them². On the 17th of March the following year, 1300, the king wrote to his “dearest daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Zealand, Lady of Friesland,” wishing her “health and a father’s blessing;” and telling her, that he has sent the bearers, two of his faithful servants, about her dower business, having given them instructions as minute as he could in England; requesting her to receive and entertain them with all becoming courtesy, and to give them all the attention necessary, and such instructions as would tend most to her honour and the profit of her affairs. This letter is dated from Westminster the 17th of March³.

Elizabeth remained a few months longer on the continent, when, finding that her efforts to obtain her rights were still unavailing, she bade adieu to Holland for ever, returned to England, and sought once again the protection of her father’s roof⁴. On her way home, she passed

¹ Ward. Book, 28 Edw. I., pp. 78, 79.

² *Fœdera*, vol. i., pp. 910, 914. Ward. Book, 28 Edw. I., pp. 82, 97, 158, 162. Ward. Rolls, 27 Edw. I., Nos. 2297, 2623, Queen’s Rememb.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 918.

⁴ Matt. Westm., p. 433. *Annales Lucul.*, Cott., MS., Nero D. ii., f. 190.

through Brabant, probably to pay a visit to her sister Margaret, Duchess of Brabant¹; departed thence early in July; and reached London in August. On her arrival, her father was absent in the north of England, lingering to watch over the termination of his Scotch campaign, and his young Queen, Margaret of France, to whom Elizabeth was still a stranger, as their union had taken place since she left England, was also in the north, where she resided temporarily for the sake of closer proximity to her lord, then engaged in the prosecution of the war with Scotland. Not relishing the solitude of the deserted palace, and eager to embrace her father, the countess set out, on the 20th of August, to join her juvenile step-mother, at the village of Cawood, near York². This was Elizabeth's first introduction to the queen; they afterwards became almost inseparable companions. On the 17th of September they joined the king at Rose Castle, the residence of the bishops of Carlisle³, in a village near that city; and afterwards the queen and princess spent some time at Carlisle⁴. Elizabeth's travelling expenses were borne by the king her father, and amounted to 19*l.*⁵

On the 10th of November, the anniversary of the death of her late husband, Elizabeth had masses performed for his soul at the church of the Friars Preachers at Carlisle. Both she and the queen were present on the occasion, and afterwards all the friars preachers of the city were fed by the countess⁶. From Carlisle Elizabeth went, in the middle of November, to Kirkleatham; thence soon

¹ Rot. Exit., 28 Edw. I., Pasch. B.

² Ward. Account, 28 Edw. I., No. 2,638, Queen's Rememb. Rot. Exit., 28 Edw. I., Pasch. The expenses of her journey were 20*l.*

³ The queen met the king at La Vrose, on the 17th of September. Rot. Pat., 28 Edw. I., m. 4. *Ward. Book*, 28 Edw. I., pp. 45, 357. It is uncertain whether Elizabeth travelled thither in her company, or in that of the king, whom she might have joined a few days previously.

⁴ Ward. Book, 29 Edw. I. Addit. MS. 7966, As. Brit. Mus.

⁵ Lyson's *Magna Britannica*, Cumberland, p. 91.

⁶ Ward. Book, 28 Edw. I., p. 43. Ward. Fragm., Queen's Rememb.

afterwards to Hereford, and finally rejoined the queen at Northampton¹.

She was still endeavouring, by letters and messages, to win from the reluctant Earl of Holland her dower revenues². She also sent a messenger to the King of the Romans on the same business³; but her efforts, though prolonged through several years⁴, were only partially successful; and Elizabeth was so completely dependent upon her father, that even the wages of her domestic servants, her washerwoman, tailor, maid, &c., had to be discharged by him⁵. Among her miscellaneous expenditure at this time, mention occurs of curtains for her chapel and chamber, of apparatus for her bath, and also of flowers and rushes bought for her at the festival of Passover⁶.

The movements of the countess about this period are easily gathered from the wardrobe books of the year. On the 22nd of November, she, with the king, queen, and Prince Edward, visited the great altar in the ancient cathedral of Ripon, and the picturesque shrine of St. Robert of Knaresborough, where masses were performed for the soul of the late Queen Eleanor. The royal travellers then proceeded through Doncaster, Newstead, and Stamford, to Leicester, where they arrived on the 11th of December⁷. After offering in the cathedral, they went on to Northampton, to spend the Christmas.

Elizabeth, whose wardrobe had not been replenished,

¹ Ward. Book 28, p. 75.

² Ibid., pp. 89, 302. Ward. Fragm., ut sup.

³ The roll of his expenses, from September 25th, Anno 28^o, to February 2nd, 29^o, forms No. 1, 891 of the Wardrobe Accounts in the Queen's Remembrancer Office. A messenger had also been sent to the same king the July previous. *Ward. Acct.*, 2,638, *Queen's Rememb.*

⁴ Ward. Book, 28 Edw. I., f. 69. Ibid., 29, ff. 67 b., 126. Addit. MS., 7,966 A. Rot. Claus., 29 Edw. I., m. 6. Rot. Pat. 30, m. 31.

⁵ Ward. Book 28, pp. 72, 91, 357.

⁶ Ward. Acct., No. 593, *Queen's Rememb.*

⁷ Ward. Book, 28—29 Edw. I., No. 1,222, *Queen's Rememb.*

since her arrival in England, had a robe of blue cloth and a "decent cape" lined with miniver, and trimmed with forty-four silver gilt buttons, made for the festival, and such was her anxiety to have it in time, that she ordered her tailor and furrier to work day and night upon it; and therefore an additional expense was incurred for the candles used during their operations! She sent a messenger to London to bring a pair of coffers containing her jewels and other treasures, and her tailor Henry was dispatched to make suitable purchases for the rest of her apparel¹.

"A merry Christmas" was not a mere complimentary phrase among our monarchs of the olden time. Mirth and minstrelsy rang through their ancient halls, and joyous pastimes of all descriptions—some of them, it may be, uncouth to our modern taste—were indulged in with frolic freedom. On Christmas day and the day following, which was the feast of St. Stephen, many minstrels were assembled to perform before the royal family; amongst others two giants from Germany, who probably added feats of bodily strength to their musical accomplishments².

Prince Edward was not with the royal family on this occasion, but he sent his favourite sister a Christmas present of a sorrel horse³. In the latter end of January, 1301, the king with his wife and daughter removed to Nettleham, and thence to Lincoln⁴. Here Elizabeth parted with the Lady de Saux, probably a Dutch lady, who had accompanied her to England, to whom, on parting, she gave two pieces of plate⁵. During the few ensuing months, the countess visited Hayles, Feckenham,

¹ Ward. Book, 29 Edw. I., ff. 31 b., 34 b., 42 b. Addit. MS. 7,966, A. Brit. Mus.

² Ibid., ff. 66 b., 69, 144.

³ Ibid., f. 67.

⁴ Ibid., f. 32.

⁵ Ward. Acct., No. 2,052, Queen's Rememb.

Hereford, Kemsey, and Kenilworth¹. On the 4th of June, the queen, who was no longer in a situation to share in the active movements of her royal husband, bade adieu to the king, and retired to Woodstock, to await her approaching confinement. Elizabeth accompanied her thither, and they were soon after joined by the Princess Mary, the nun of Amesbury, who, as well as her sister, remained in affectionate attendance upon the young queen, until after the birth of Prince Edmund. Elizabeth was a guest at the queen's table, but had a separate household, and her expenses for wardrobe and equipage during this period, and till the 19th of November, when the queen set out on her journey northward, were 117*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*²

It seems probable that the countess accompanied her mother on this tour, when they proceeded as far northward as Linlithgow, where they spent a cheerless Christmas, in a castle newly erected by King Edward, amidst a country, laid waste, not only by the hostile English army, but by the Scots themselves, who had adopted the plan of devastating their own lands, as a means of self-defence, and that, too, during a winter of inclement and unusual severity.

After this time we lose sight of the countess till the April of the following year, 1302, when we find her at Devizes, with the king and queen³.

A truce of some months afforded the king a breathing space, in which to attend to his family and to the domestic administration of his kingdom. He availed himself of this leisure to negotiate a second marriage for the

¹ Ward. Book, 29 Edw. I., ff. 24, 30 b., 32 b.

² The queen's expenses for the same period were 1,377*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* *Ibid.*, f. 156.

³ Cloth and shoes were purchased for her by the king's command, on the 10th of April, and sent from London to Devizes, and on the 20th of the same month, the king presented her with a piece of plate. *Ward. Fragm.*, 30 Edw. I., *Queen's Rememb.* *Ward. Acct.*, No. 2,052, *Queen's Rememb.*

Countess Elizabeth with Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and High Constable of England, a young nobleman, whose rank, wealth, influence, and high spirit, alike pointed him out as the fittest among the English peers to become the son-in-law of his sovereign. His father, the late Earl Humphrey, had proved himself not only a gallant warrior when fighting under the banners of his sovereign, but a steady opposer of those unconstitutional acts, in which, in violation of the stipulations of the Great Charter, Edward I. was too apt to indulge. On this account it was matter of policy to secure the son in firm adherence to the person of the monarch, and for this purpose no means were so probable as a family alliance.

The earl was, moreover, one of the most extensive landed proprietors in the realm. He owned forty-nine manors in different parts of England, with divers honours, hundreds and tenements. In Herefordshire alone he was lord of six baronial castles, and possessed also those of Pleshy in Essex, Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, and Stamford in Lincolnshire¹. He was handsome, and of a suitable age, having just attained his majority². He seems, in early life, to have been much at the court of Edward I., and was a frequent companion of Prince Edward³. The young Humphrey succeeded his father, as Earl of Hereford and Essex, in 1298; since which period he had been treated with kindness and distinction by Edward I., and had served him in the Scotch war⁴. He had accompanied the king on several hasty visits to

¹ Col. Misc. M. 1, f. 30, College of Arms.

² Siege of Carlaverock, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, pp. 11, 119.

³ Ward. Acct., 14-15 Edw. I., No. 1,782, Queen's Rememb. In a wardrobe fragment, about the 30th of Edward I., mention is made of 20s. which the prince lost at play with the Earl of Hereford.

⁴ Rot. Claus., 27 Edw. I., mm. 17, 6. Ward. Acct., 26 Edw. I., No. 2,011, Queen's Rememb.; also Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, vol. i., pp. 82, 90, 103, 112, 327, 347, 357, &c.

his queen during this campaign, and had thus renewed an acquaintance, probably formed in childhood, with the widowed but still youthful princess, and became a suitor for her hand. Elizabeth's past experience had not induced any predilection for foreign marriages, and she was the more readily induced to accede to an union which would not involve so entire a separation from all that were dear to her. The consent of the pope to the projected union was solicited and obtained¹. The king, however, exacted from his future son-in-law the same conditions on which he had previously given his second daughter, Joanna, in marriage to the Earl of Gloucester; namely, an absolute resignation of all his lands and tenements, and also of his office of constable into the monarch's hands²; and a resettlement of the whole upon the earl and countess and their heirs, with the proviso that, in default of issue, many of his estates should revert to the crown³. The lands were relinquished on the 8th of October, 1302, and restored on the 26th of November following.

The nuptials of Earl Humphrey and the princess were celebrated at Westminster on the 14th of November, 1302⁴. The jewels worn by the bride on this occasion were of the most costly description. She had a crown of gold, cast in one piece, studded with rubies and emeralds, which was valued at the large sum of 320*l.*⁵; surmounting this was a smaller circlet, from which gleamed forth eighty-two large oriental pearls, twelve rubies, twelve

¹ Patent Roll, 30 Edw. IV., m. 31.

² Rot. Claus., 30 Edw. I., m. 5 and m. 3 in cedulâ.

³ Madox, Exchequer, vol. ii., p. 283. Rot. Cart., 31 Edw. I., m. 4.

⁴ Ward. Roll, 29—32 Edw. I., No. 2,144, Queen's Rememb. Chron. Lanthony, Cott. MS., Cleop. A. iii., f. 315. A contemporary anonymous chronicler says that the marriage took place at Caversham, in Oxfordshire, on the 25th of December, Cott. MS., Vesp. A. ii., f. 74.

⁵ This costly ornament had formerly belonged to the Lady Blanche of France, the sister of Queen Margaret. *Ward. Fragm., Queen's Rememb.*

large emeralds, and twenty-four small images wrought in gold and gems. Her zone was similarly adorned, and valued at 50*l*.¹

The newly-wedded pair remained for some time at court. On the 23rd of November the countess attended service at Westminster Abbey, and presented her offerings at the great altar². Early in the following spring, King Edward again went on a military expedition to Scotland; and the Earl of Hereford, as one of the chief peers of the realm, headed his retainers and attended the monarch³. Elizabeth and Queen Margaret accompanied their lords. They crossed the borders that divided the two kingdoms, so long in a state of irreconcilable hostility, and advanced into the very heart of the theatre of war. After visiting Norham, they went on to Edinburgh, and thence to Dumfermline, and Roxburgh.

At Dumfermline they lodged in the splendid abbey, the picturesque ruins of which still remain, and which was said at that time to be large enough to accommodate three sovereign princes with their suites. Unfortunately, the ruthless soldiers of Edward I. destroyed the greater part of it; alleging as their excuse, that the Scots had already desecrated it by holding a rebel parliament there.

The situation of the countess now precluded her from encountering the hardships and fatigues of travelling; she retired to England, to reside awhile at Tynemouth, in Northumberland, where preparations were made for her *accouchement*. The prospect of approaching maternity occasioned much anxiety and some alarm to the princess; in compliance with her entreaty, Queen Margaret had accompanied her from Scotland to Tynemouth, and consented to remain there until the hour of trial was past.

¹ Ward. Roll., 29—32 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

² Ibid.

³ Rot. Pat., 31 Edw. I., m. 17, dorso.

⁴ Scott's Border Antiquities, p. 175.

In her eagerness to avail herself of every prospective aid, a curious instance of superstition is recorded: Among the sacred relics in the shrine of Westminster Abbey was preserved a zone, said to have been worn by the Virgin Mother of our Lord, which was supposed to possess peculiar efficacy in the relief of those who had to struggle with maternal sorrows. The countess therefore sent to Westminster for this valued relic, and although it was very unusual for such treasures to be permitted to be taken away from their shrines, yet the rank of the applicant precluded a refusal. Two of the monks took charge of the precious girdle, carried it to Tynemouth, and remained there with it till the latter end of September, when the countess was safely delivered of a daughter. They were then handsomely rewarded and dismissed¹, bearing with them their treasure.

Exulting in the joys of her newly-acquired relationship, the young mother determined that all about her should participate in her pleasure. She purchased silver cups and distributed them amongst her personal attendants; one was given to the queen's chaplain, who had been with her, and three others to Joanna de Merewyth², one of the faithful ladies who had been her companions in Holland, and who had remained with her ever since³. The king gave a present of fifty marks to the valet of the countess who brought him tidings of the 'birth of his grand-daughter. Elizabeth named her infant, Margaret, after her amiable and affectionate step-mother.

¹ Ward. Acct., 29—32 Edw. I., No. 2,144, Queen's Rememb. It was probably the same girdle that was used, nearly two centuries later, by the queen of Henry VII., under similar circumstances. Females in humble life often sought for safety and succour in the use of priest-blessed girdles. See *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, p. 78.

² Ward. Acct., ut sup.

³ Ward. Acct., 28 Edw. I., No. 2,692, Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Rot. Exit. Mich., 31 Edw. I. Devon's Excerpta, p. 116.

Upon her recovery she was anxious to rejoin her husband, but fearing the rigours of a northern winter for her baby, she sent it to Windsor, in a litter, drawn by four horses, with an escort of ladies and damsels, of which some were her own attendants, and others those of the queen. There it was carefully tended along with the Princes Thomas and Edmund, its juvenile uncles¹. An odd illustration of the tumultuous mirth of the royal nursery, occurs in the following wardrobe entry.

“For the Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king’s sons, and the Lady Margaret, the daughter of Elizabeth Countess of Hereford, paid to Martinet, the tabourer, making minstrelsy for them, and also for the reparation of his tabor broken by them . . . 7s².”

The whole winter of 1303 was passed by the royal party in the north of England and Scotland. The active monarch frequently took long excursions, in which he was accompanied by his queen, and sometimes by his daughter, though the rapidity of his movements rendered him rather an unsuitable companion for lady travellers. They were usually attended by a train of one hundred and eighty horses, more than thirty of which belonged to the countess and her servants³. Of these seven were for her chariot, three palfreys for her own riding, seven sumpter horses for the conveyance of her baggage, and the remainder for

¹ Ward. Acct., 29—32, ut sup.

² Ward. Fragm., 31 Edw. I., Queen’s Rememb.

³ Their daily progress for a short time is given in a wardrobe fragment. On Friday, the 13th of December, the king, queen, and Countess of Hereford were at Banborough, on Saturday at Werk, Sunday at Bellingham, where they remained till Monday, the 23rd, when they removed towards Hovingham. On Tuesday, January 2nd, they removed to Rillington, on Friday, the 5th, to Garton on the Wolds, on the following Wednesday they went to Frodingham, and stayed there till Tuesday, February 25th, thence to Kilham, Malton, Newberry, &c., and thence to Newton. On Sunday, the 1st of March, they were at Durham, and the following Tuesday reached Newcastle. *Roll of the Expenses of the horses of the king, queen, and Countess of Hereford*, 32 Edw. I., Fragm. Queen’s Rememb.

the use of her attendants, her clerk and charioteer, &c.¹ They spent the Christmas at Hovingham, near Malton, where Elizabeth made her father a present of a pair of knives with crystal handles, as a new-year's gift².

The queen and princess remained with the army during the campaign of the ensuing summer, in which the siege of Stirling castle was prosecuted with much vigour. The Earl and Countess of Hereford enjoyed a brief re-union³ beneath the frowning walls of this Scottish fortress, where opposing hosts hurled defiance at each other. Such meetings, snatched amidst the toils and tumults of a northern campaign, surrounded by the clash and gleam of arms, afforded all the brief and transient moments of conjugal intercourse that fell to the lot of this great baron and his royal spouse, excepting when winter put a stop to active warfare.

On the 21st of July, 1304, Elizabeth retired to Knaresborough to await her second confinement⁴. The castle of that ancient town, whose romantic ruins, standing out on a bold elevation, in the midst of a rocky and richly wooded scenery, still form an object of attraction to the lovers of the picturesque, was assigned as her residence. She was supplied by the king with every sort of provision. Her bread was sent from the royal stores, at Stirling, Edinburgh, and Berwick-upon-Tweed; her wine from York; her fish from Newcastle⁵; and her other necessaries, including herrings, salt, &c., were furnished by the sheriffs of Yorkshire⁶. Among the furniture for her apartments are named, seven pieces of green tapestry, wrought with the

¹ List of the horses of the king, queen, and Countess of Hereford, No. 358, Queen's Rememb.

² Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

³ Ward. Fragm., 32 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Ward. Fragm., 32, ut sup.

⁵ Rot. Claus., 32 Edw. I., m. 4.

⁶ Rot. Exit., 32 Edw. I., Mich. Ward. Acct., 33 Edw. I., No. 2,158, Queen's Rememb.

arms of England and Hereford, two benches for her room and three for her hall, six beds with furniture for herself and her five damsels, also feather cushions for her chariot, and trappings for six palfreys and five mules¹.

While at Knaresborough, Elizabeth received several transient visits from her husband, when she, as lady of the castle, entertained him with due state, and distributed the allowances of wine, &c., to his attendants². Earl Humphrey appears to have been at Knaresborough at the time of the birth of his second daughter, which took place early in October. It was a source of disappointment both to him and the king, that the infant was not a son³; but Elizabeth, happy in the smiles of her new-born infant, testified her gratitude by feeding all the poor people of Knaresborough. She gave to her baby the name of Eleanora, in memory of her deceased mother. Earl Humphrey was summoned to London on business; but as soon as his countess had recovered her health, she rejoined the king and queen in Scotland, and, this time, seems to have taken her infant with her⁴.

The winter was now fast approaching. A truce between the contending parties put an end for awhile to the furious strife that had so long raged: the wearied troops were disbanded; and the Earl and Countess of Hereford, for the first time since their marriage, retired to a house of their own. The castle of Pleshy, the principal among the many seats of the Earls of Hereford and Essex, was situated in Essex. It had been a fortress in the time of the Romans, and its stupendous keep, amazing ditch, and magnificent

¹ Ward. Fragm., Queen's Rememb.

² Roll of the Expenses of the Lady Elizabeth, the king's daughter, Countess of Holland, Hereford, and Essex, staying at Knaresborough. Anno 32°. No. 4,516, Queen's Rememb.

³ Edward I. only gave the sum of 40 marks to the valet who brought him the tidings. Prince Edward gave a similar sum.

⁴ Rot. Exit., 32 Edw. I., Mich. Ward. Fragm., 32 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i., p. 183.

bridge of a single arch, still excite admiration in the spectator. Its site was high, and the prospect so agreeable that it is said to derive its name from a corruption of the Roman Castellum de Placeto, given on account of its pleasant situation. The father of the present earl had added one hundred and fifty acres to the park, and its extent had thus become so considerable that even down to the year 1516, it was called the great park¹. To enable her to roam at pleasure over these extensive estates, Elizabeth had a new chariot purchased in France, by a clerk sent over for the purpose².

A fortunate discovery has recently been made in the Chapter-house, Westminster, of a roll containing copies or abstracts of the correspondence of Edward, Prince of Wales, during part of the year 1305. This roll affords ample proof of the affectionate intimacy subsisting between the prince and his sister Elizabeth. The following is a specimen of the style in which his letters to her were addressed:

“To the noble lady, his dearest sister, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the King of England, Countess of Holland, Hereford, and Essex, from Edward, her brother, greeting, and all honour. As we understand and know that you would willingly hear good news from us, we give you to know that we were in good estate and in good health, thank God, when these letters were made, which we desire to hear and know of you, and so we pray that you will send us word as well and often as you can, of your estate, which God make always good; for we are glad at heart every time that we hear good news of you.

“In reference to what you send us word, that we were charging the Abbess and convent of Barking with more nuns than they are charged with now, know, dearest sister, that we have requested them for the daughter of one of

¹ Gough's History and Antiquities of Pleshy, pp. 1, 4, 9.

² Ward. Fragm., 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

our friends, to whom we are much indebted, and we should much wish that our request should be well accomplished; but since you wish that our desire should not be granted at present, we will delay awhile, according to your will. Our Lord guard you.—Given under our privy seal, at Langley, the 30th day of March.”

The following June, a misunderstanding arose between the king and the Prince of Wales, the cause of which is detailed at length in a letter from the prince to the Earl of Lincoln. He states that, on Sunday, June 13th, he was with the king at Midhurst, and that the king was so much displeased with certain words that had passed between him and the Bishop of Chester, that he forbade him or any of his suite to enter the royal presence, and refused to give or lend anything for the sustenance of his household. The Bishop of Chester, who was the king's treasurer, had taken the liberty of reproving the prince for the follies into which Gaveston led him; such as associating with buffoons, singers, actors, indulging in drink, striking the bystanders on light occasions, &c.; and the resentment of the prince for this reproof, occasioned the utterance of such gross and bitter words, that the king resolved to punish him for thus insulting a dignitary of the crown¹.

The disgrace of the prince excited for him the warm sympathies of his sisters. The Countess of Hereford wrote him a letter full of dismay and concern, to which the prince replied as follows:—“Dearest Sister, Be not dismayed at the news which you send us word, they prate in the part where you are, about our lord the king, our father, and us, for it is quite right that he should say, and do, and ordain, concerning us, whatever pleases him, and we shall be always ready to obey all his wishes; for

¹ See a valuable paper containing many extracts from this roll, in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. ii., pp. 80-98, by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

whatever he does for his pleasure, is also for our profit, and for love of us; and please not to listen to anything whatever that may be told you to the contrary.—Given at Tenterden, July 1st.”

The Countess of Gloucester, his elder sister, with the impetuous warmth which characterized her conduct, wrote, in conjunction with her husband, to offer him the whole of her estates; and sent him her seal, to enable him to appropriate anything that he chose belonging to her; but the royal displeasure had, by this time, partially subsided; and in reply the prince wrote to tell her that reports had exaggerated the breach, and that he had sufficiency allowed to supply his wants; and, at the same time, he carefully returned her seal¹.

The prince was confined, with but few associates, to Windsor or its neighbourhood, where he was ordered to remain until the meeting of parliament. From thence he addressed the following letter to his sister Elizabeth:—

“Edward to his dearest sister, my lady Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, of Hereford, and of Essex, health and his dear love. We are very glad of the good estate of our lord the king, our father, and of my lady the queen, and of your own, of which we have heard by your letters. And in reference to ours, we give you to know that we were in good health, thank God, when these letters were made. And whereas, our lord the king has granted us two valets, whom we have, and whom we loved, to remain with us, that is, John de Hanstede and John de Weston, we pray and entreat you especially to request my lady the queen, our dear mother, that she will pray the king to grant us yet two valets more to remain with us, namely, Gilbert de Clare and Perot de Gaveston, for if we had these two, with the others that we have, we should be much alleviated of the anguish that we have

¹ Appendix, No. 1.

endured, and suffer yet from day to day, through the ordinances and will of our said lord the king. Dearest sister, may our Lord guard you.—Given under our privy seal, at the park of Windsor, the 3rd day of August.”

This letter was followed, a few days after, by one to the queen, requesting her to have his petition at heart, and to unfold it in her most gracious manner to the king; but of its success no tidings are recorded.

The prince received affectionate invitations from both his sisters Joanna and Mary, to visit them; but the invitation of the elder princess was peremptorily declined, the king not permitting his son to leave the neighbourhood of Windsor¹. Mary was politic enough to apply first for her father's permission, which she obtained, but Edward dared not then avail himself of it to visit her at Ambresbury, as the parliament was on the eve of meeting, and he knew not but any hour might summon him to his father's presence².

The interview between the king and his son proved satisfactory; the storm of regal indignation was averted, and the thoughtless young prince reverted to the trivial pleasures and occupations on which so much of his time was bestowed. He wrote to his sister Elizabeth to request the

¹ The following is a translation of his letter to the countess:—

“To the noble lady, his dearest sister, my lady Joanna, daughter of the noble King of England, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, from Edward her brother, greeting and dear love.—Dearest sister, we have well heard that which Bartholomew Duchatel has told us from you, I have thereupon given him our answer, which he will be able to tell you. And know, dearest sister, that we would gladly come to you, but our lord the king, our father, has ordered our dwelling in the parts near Windsor, between this and the parliament, until some other order can be taken; and we wish to obey his orders in all things, without doing anything to the contrary. Dearest sister, our Lord have you in his keeping. Given at Windsor, 5th of August.” The roll contains several other letters relating to the Earl and Countess of Gloucester and the Princess Mary; but unfortunately they were discovered too late for insertion in the memoirs of those princesses. The most important of them are therefore subjoined in Appendix, No. II.

² Appendix, No. III.

gift of a beautiful white greyhound, as a companion to one which he had recently purchased, and was desirous to propagate the breed. In return, he sent her a present of two beautiful mares with their foals. He also wrote to Sir John of Loudon, entreating that he would "lend his clerk, who had taught his children to sing, to his dearest sister, the Countess of Hereford, to remain awhile in her chapel, and to teach the children, staying in the same chapel, how to sing." Amidst more trifling pursuits, it is pleasing to find the prince warmly soliciting the assistance of his sister in an act of benevolence towards a Castilian lady, a *protégée* of their mother, married in England, and who was in danger of suffering from delay in the administration of justice, unless the appeals which he considered himself and his sister bound in duty to make on her behalf, were favourably received¹.

The roll alluded to contains several other letters to the Earl and Countess of Hereford, but of little moment, except as attesting frequent and friendly intercourse². The last of them is dated early in October, during which month the countess met her brother at court³. Towards its close he visited her at her baronial mansion of Pleshy, accompanied by a stately train of nobles.

Margaret, the elder daughter of the Countess of Hereford, still remained at court with the two young princes, Elizabeth's half-brothers, and was treated in every respect as one of the royal progeny⁴; but a premature death deprived the countess of this, her first-born child, at a very early age. It might be to announce this event

¹ Appendix, No. IV.

² Roll of the Letters of the Prince of Wales, 33 Edw. I., Chapter House.

³ Two Wardrobe Fragments, 32 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Roll of the Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, 32 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb. Ward. Acct., 33 Edw. I., No. 2,594 Queen's Rememb.

that Prince Thomas, when only five years old, sent a letter to his sister Elizabeth, to Pleshy, of which a notice occurs in 1305¹.

Although absent from court, the Countess of Hereford was still receiving constant tokens of paternal love on the part of the monarch. Costly robes for the feasts of Easter, the Ascension, and St. Edward, with fur mantles, hoods, capes, &c., were sent to her by the king, and he also provided in a similar manner for many of her servants².

Towards the close of this year, 1305, the services of the Earl of Hereford were again required in the Scotch war. He was the constant companion of his father-in-law, and had a general invitation to dine at the royal table every day, and when he declined the honour, the daily allowance he received for his attendance was almost doubled³. During his absence, Elizabeth went to the court of Queen Margaret, where she remained more than half a year, in company with the queen and with her two nieces, Joanna of Bar, who had been recently married to the young Earl of Warren, and Eleanora de Clare, who had on the same day become the bride of Hugh le Despenser⁴. They travelled to different places in the north, Aberford, Doncaster, Clipston, Leicestor, &c.; but their principal abode was Winchester, where, on the fourth of May, 1306, the queen gave birth to her youngest child and only daughter, Eleanora.

Elizabeth, anxious to participate in her father's joy,

¹ Ward. Fragm., 33 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

² Stephen Brawode and Michael Clare, her clerks; Alicia Bretun, Johanna Weston, Elizabeth Watering, and Elizabeth Fitz Giles, her maids of honour, with the clerks of her chapel, and her four chamberwomen, are especially named as receiving these proofs of his bounty. Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

³ Ward. Fragm., 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb. He received 5s. when he did not, and 3s. when he did, dine at Court.

⁴ Ward. Fragm., ut sup. Ward. Book, same year.

hastened herself to congratulate him on this auspicious event. She travelled as far north as Lochmaben, in Scotland, for the pleasure of an interview with her husband.

The castle of Lochmaben, with the adjoining territory, and all the lands of Annandale which were the inheritance of Robert the Bruce, Earl of Carrick, had been escheated by Edward I., "on account of the felony of the said Robert," and then bestowed by him on his daughter and his valiant son-in-law, the Earl of Hereford, in the April of this year¹. The visit of the Countess Elizabeth to this romantic residence, the ruins of which still indicate the strength and extent of the Bruce's castellated abode², might be partly induced by a wish to inspect the estates so recently conferred upon her. She remained there only a few days, during which the king sent her a present of some lampreys³, and then returned to the queen at Winchester⁴. In June, she paid a short business-visit to her Essex estates, but again returned to Winchester⁵. A few months afterwards, Elizabeth seems to have left court and retired to Pleshy, where her son and heir was born. This child was called Humphrey, and was the ninth of the noble and ancient family of the Bohuns, who had, in succession, borne that name. To the valet who informed him of the birth of his grandson⁶, the king gave 40*l.*, a sum equal to 600*l.* in the present day. After her confinement, Elizabeth returned to Scotland, to reside at Lochmaben with her husband. In this beautiful region, situated in the bosom of the Highland lakes, she spent several months. Whilst here, she received several letters and messages from her brother, Prince

¹ Rot. Cart., 34 Edw. I., m. 33. Rymer, Collect. Addit. MS. 4,575, f. 591. Chron. Dunmowe, Cott. MS. Cleop., A. iii., f. 293.

² Scott's Border Antiquities, Introd., p. 58.

³ Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Edward, and entertained Geoffry Pipewell, his fisher, who came to catch the fish for which the lakes are famous¹.

The Countess of Hereford became now too much immersed in nursery cares, to lead the active and wandering life she had previously done. In 1307, her second son John was born², and he was followed, in rapid succession, by a numerous family. Her eldest son, Humphrey died young³, on which account she gave the family-name to her third son, who was born soon afterwards. Then came twin sons, Edward and William; another daughter Margaret, and a son Æneas. The gallant conduct of these brave boys in after-life, reflects much credit on the spirit in which their early training was conducted. They were frequent visitors at court, and in later years were associated with their cousins, the sons of King Edward II⁴.

Meanwhile, Earl Humphrey was winning for himself the mead of a well-earned fame, and the more substantial rewards of broad lands and extensive revenues, for his services in the Scotch wars. He was present at the celebrated siege of Carlaverock, in company with Henry, Earl of Lincoln, where his handsome person, and his banner of deep blue silk, bearing a bend argent, coticed or, between six lioncels rampant, the arms of the Bohuns, elicited peculiar admiration⁵. He received several important grants from Edward I.⁶, but towards the close of the reign of that monarch, Humphrey, prompted by a

¹ Ward. Acct. Prince Edw., 35 Edw. I., Harl. MS. 5,001.

² Rot. Exit., 35 Edw. I., Pasch.

³ The chronicle of Lanthony, Lansdowne MS., No. 259, f. 24, says that he died on the 10th of September, 1304, but that is nearly two years before the date assigned in the Wardrobe Records for his birth, and must therefore be incorrect.

⁴ Ward. Fragments Temp. Edw. II. Ward. Acct., 16-17 Edw. II., No. 4,702, Queen's Rem. Harl. MS., 3648, fol. 7.

⁵ Siege of Carlaverock, p. 11.

⁶ The lands granted him in Essex alone are said to have been worth 1000*l.* a-year. *Chron. Dunmowe, Cott. MS., ut sup.*

desire to enjoy the quiet of domestic life, or conceiving some temporary disgust, departed, without leave, from the army. His conduct excited grave displeasure in the king, who could ill afford to part with one of his ablest warriors; but the gentle intercession of Queen Margaret made up the breach.¹

On the death of King Edward I., in 1307, Edward II. followed, at first, his father's example, in showering favours upon his favourite sister and her spouse. One of his first regal acts was to grant them all the English lands formerly possessed by the Bruce family, but forfeited by their rebellion². Immediately after the funeral of his father-in-law, at which the Earl of Hereford was present, he was sent to head the troops in Scotland³. He returned, however, to accompany the king to Boulogne, whither he went to celebrate his nuptials with the beautiful Isabella of France⁴. In his first regnal year, Edward conferred on Earl Humphrey and Elizabeth a nominal grant of several more of the lands of Robert the Bruce⁵. He also confirmed to them an allowance of 40*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, in connexion with the earldom of Essex, and of 20*l.* belonging to the constablenesship of England⁶, which, after much deliberation and learned scrutiny of the chancery and exchequer rolls, had been ascertained in the reign of Edward I. to pertain to those dignities⁷. He arranged that the debts due to the royal exchequer from Humphrey should be paid only by small annual instalments of 20*l.*⁸ The king likewise

¹ Rot. Claus., 35 Edw. I., m. 15.

² Patent Roll, 6 Edw. III., pt. 3, m. 11, a confirmation of the grant.

³ Rot. Claus., 1 Edw. II., m. 17, dorso. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 9.

⁴ Memoir of Humph. de Bohun, Appendix to the Siege of Carlaverock, edited by Sir N. H. Nicolas, p. 120.

⁵ Rot. Cart., 1 Edw. II., date Carlisle, July 30th.

⁶ Rot. Claus., 1 Edw. II., m. 16. Rot. Pat., 2 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 5. Rot. Claus., 2 Edw. II., m. 4.

⁷ Rot. Claus., 26 Edw. I., m. 3. Madox' Exchequer, vol. i., p. 41. Orig. Letters, Tower, uncalendared.

⁸ Rot. Pat., 2 Edw. II., p. 1, m. 3.

wrote to the Earl of Holland about his sister's dowry, promising that the peace and concord so long desired, in reference to the commercial affairs of the two countries, should be at once granted, if the earl would, without more delay, restore to Elizabeth her full dowry; assuring him that in no respect could he more oblige the king himself than by complying with his request¹. In one point, Edward thwarted the Earl of Hereford's wishes. He prohibited a tournament which had been planned by the chivalrous earl and his wife's nephew, Gilbert de Clare, to be held at Stamford².

The Countess Elizabeth was in frequent correspondence with the king³, and also on very friendly terms with Queen Isabella. She was one of the noble ladies summoned to meet the queen at Dover on her first arrival in England⁴, and to share in the splendours of the ensuing coronation, in which her husband, as constable of England, bore the sword of state before the monarch⁵. Several notices, during following years, of letters, messages, and gifts, exchanged between them, prove that these royal ladies maintained a cordiality of intercourse, unshaken by the tumults and broils which agitated the realm, and which produced the most serious disputes between the king and the Earl of Hereford⁶.

It would be out of place here to enter upon the weakness and misgovernment of Edward II., which proved the fruitful source of so much mischief to the kingdom. Such

¹ Rot. Rom. et Franc., 1—3 Edw. II., m. 10, sub anno 1^o.

² Rot. Pat., 2 Edw. II., p. 1, m. 15. Rot. Claus., 2 Edw. II., m. 3, dorso.

³ Ward. Fragmts., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Rot. Claus., 1 Edw. II., m. 11, dorso. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 30.

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 36.

⁶ Ward. Fragm., 3 Edw. II. Ward. Roll, 8 Edw. II. Roll of Queen Isabella, 9 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb. The Wardrobe Roll of Queen Isabella, 5 Edw. II., mentions a present of wild boars sent by her to the Earl of Hereford. Cotton. MS. Nero, C. viii., p. 153 b.

was the system of favoritism pursued by the king, and such his misfortune in choosing as his minions, men remarkable *only* for their personal appearance and accomplishments, and therefore wholly unfit to govern, that it became the part of true patriots to oppose a firm, and, if necessary, resolute resistance to the tide of evils with which rapacious despotism threatened to overwhelm the country. The revolvers could assert, with more truthfulness than is usual on such occasions, that they fought for, and not against, the real interests of the crown and the kingdom. As a significant token of their loyalty, even when in arms against their monarch, though they seized many fortresses, they always refused to displace the royal banners from the battlements¹. The head of the malcontent party was Prince Thomas of Lancaster, the grandson of Henry III., and cousin to the king. Next to him, Humphrey de Bohun was one of its principal supports. The bold and determined character of this great earl rendered him an object at once of fear and respect to the king. At one time, Edward's dread of him was so great that he was forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to enter into the city of London².

After the triumph of the baronial party, and the murder of Piers Gaveston, a seeming reconciliation was effected; and the monarch was persuaded to renew the Scotch war, which had been bequeathed to him as a legacy by his father. The military talents of the Earl of Hereford were again called into requisition³, but this time they did not secure him from misfortune, for he was taken prisoner after the battle of Bannockburn. He, with some other nobles, and a troop of armed foot, fled from the fatal field

¹ Chron. Lanercost, p. 210.

² Rot. Claus., 6 Edw. II., m. 25. Several documents relating to the earl about this period may be found in the *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 350, 398, 441, 443. Also Patent Roll, 5 Edw. II., pt. 1, m. 19.

³ Rot. Claus., 7 Edw. II., m. 14 d.

on the disastrous termination of the conflict, and took refuge in Bothwell Castle, then in the hands of the English; but the governor of the fortress, being a Scotchman, and seeing the turn affairs had now taken, changed sides, and instead of protecting the refugees, took them all prisoners¹. The captivity of Earl Humphrey was not of long duration; he was released, in exchange for no less illustrious captives than the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Mar, and the lady of Robert the Bruce, afterwards Queen of Scotland². Thus the Countess Elizabeth was spared the anxiety of a long and painful separation.

During the short-lived cordiality that now subsisted between the king and the earl, Edward renewed his wonted friendly intercourse with his sister³, and consented again to interfere, as he had previously but fruitlessly done⁴, to secure to her the dowry in Holland which she ought to have enjoyed, but of which she had so long been wrongfully deprived. He wrote several very pressing letters on the subject to William, Earl of Holland, the son and successor of John d'Avennes⁵. The earl pledged himself that if Elizabeth and her husband would quit their claim to the arrears, now amounting to 16,000 livres, he would present no further hindrance to the attainment of their rights; that the countess should enjoy, unobstructedly, her dower of 8000 livres per annum, which should be collected by a messenger appointed by herself, in conjunction with an agent of the Earl of Holland; and that, should any future embarrassment arise, the countess should be entitled to renew her claim for the

¹ Chron. Lanercost, p. 211.

² Ibid. Leland's Collectanea, vol. i., p. 546.

³ On May 23rd, 1316, she offered him, and he accepted, a golden cup, a customary token of love between them in former days. *Wardrobe Acct.*, 11 *Edw. II.*, p. 140, *Library of the Society of Antiquaries*.

⁴ Rot. Rom. et Franc., 1 *Edw. II.*, m. 10. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 11.

⁵ Rot. Pat., 9 *Edw. II.*, p. 1, m. 31. Rot. Claus., 10 mm. 27, 13, in dorso. Pat. x., p. 1, m. 11. Pat. xi., p. 1, mm. 18, 32. In Rymer Collectanea, Addit. MS. 4,578. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 271

arrears. This convention was signed in Holland, in June 1318, and confirmed by Edward II. at Westminster, on the 4th of November following. Elizabeth still maintained a friendly connexion with the states of Holland; and the burgesses of Dort in particular, referred to her in an appeal to the king on behalf of some commercial regulations, styling themselves the subject of "Madame Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, his dear sister¹." She interfered successfully on their behalf, and procured for them, during her life, all the privileges they desired².

The last authentic notices of the Countess Elizabeth occur shortly after this. In the Christmas of 1315, she was at Clipston, in Sherwood, where Queen Isabella paid her a visit. The queen was with her at the commencement of the year, and presented her with two altar-cloths of green velvet, which she offered at the church of Clipston on new year's day³. At this time Elizabeth was anticipating the birth of her tenth child. This event took place at Quenden, in Essex, on the 5th May, 1316, but it proved alike fatal to mother and infant. The child, which was a girl, was born alive and received the name of Isabella, in compliment to the queen; but Elizabeth survived the period of its birth only a few days, and her infant died almost at the same time⁴. She left a will, of which unfortunately no details are preserved, excepting that, to her husband she bequeathed a golden cup and bowl, and a gold ring with a ruby, which is described as "all covered with bruises," and as "kept in a little casket in a great box at the end of the lower wardrobe." Whatever its stipulations might be, they were carefully attended to by her sorrowing spouse, and the first injunction he left to his executors in his own will, made three years after her

¹ Orig. Letters, Tower, uncalendared.

² Rot. Pat., 7 Edw. I., p. 1, m. 1. *Fœdora*, vol. ii., p. 238.

³ Ward. Roll, Queen Isab., 9 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Chron. Mon. Walden, Cotton. MS., Titus D. xx., fol. 86.

decease, was that such parts of his late wife's will as still remained unfulfilled should be performed in all things.

The place of Elizabeth's interment was the abbey of Walden, in Essex, near one of the estates of her husband, and where the dust of his parents and of many of the proud line of the De Bohuns lay already interred¹. She was laid at the foot of the altar in St. Mary's chapel; and the body of her infant was deposited in the south wall of the chapel. Elizabeth was surrounded in death by the tombs of her own offspring. The two children she had already lost, Margaret and Humphrey, as well as the infant Isabella were buried there, and subsequently her sons Edward and Æneas².

The husband and father rested not amidst his kindred dust, although one of his last wishes was, that his body might be laid by the side of Elizabeth, late his companion, at our Lady of Walden, and that her tomb, as well as those of his parents, should be decorated as richly as his own, and covered under one pall³. But a stormy

¹ Cotton. MS., Vitel. C. ix., f. 268 b. Chron. Dunmowe, Harl. MS., 530, f. 11 b.

² Chron. Lanthony, Lansd. MS. 259, f. 24 b. Chron. Walden, ut sup., f. 87.

³ The will of Humphrey de Bohun is still in existence amongst the archives of the duchy of Lancaster, where are deposited many of the records of that family, transferred to the house of Lancaster by the marriage of Mary, heiress of the De Bohuns, to the son of John of Gaunt, afterwards Henry IV. It has recently been printed with an interesting introduction, by T. Hudson Turner, Esq., in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. ii., pp. 339-347. Mr. Turner pronounces it to be, "although not one of the earliest extant," yet "perhaps one of the most interesting yet printed, considering the rank of the testator, the minuteness of the document, and the peculiarity of certain of its provisions, which we may fairly assume to be in this, as in other cases, indicative of the character of the individual." It commences as follows:

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, being in good memory and health, make my will in the manner that follows:—First, I bequeath my soul to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered death on

career awaited him, after the death of his faithful consort, the particulars of which are known to all those who are even slightly acquainted with the troublous tenor of English history during this period. The leading part taken by Earl Humphrey in the struggles against the ascendancy of the Despensers, is mentioned by the contemporary chroniclers; and their testimony is fully borne

the cross for me, and for all sinners, and to the adorable Virgin Mary, his blessed mother, and to all the saints of paradise; and my body to be buried in the church of our sweetest Lady of Walden, near the body of Elizabeth, late my companion. Moreover, I devise that all my debts be fully paid and acquitted; and what is still wanting of the will of my wife, I wish to be performed in all things. Moreover, I devise for the carriage of my body from the place where I may die to the abbey of Walden, and for giving of alms, and for my interment, and for the setting forth at my interment, and for all other things appertaining, 1000 marks, charging my executors that the bodies of my father, and my mother, and my wife, be as handsomely covered as my body, and that between all our bodies be only one hearse and one course of lights. Moreover, I devise to my lord the king, a bowl and cup of gold, which my wife bequeathed me. Item to Mons. Barthelmy, of Badlesmere, the black steed which I brought from beyond sea. And because my lord the king, thanks to him, has granted me, by his letters-patent, the half of the issues of all my lands, from the day when God shall have done his will upon me, till the full age of my heir, and all the money that might be levied for the marriage of my said heir, and all the monies that my lord the king owes me by account given into his wardrobe, during my dwelling with him, and also all the money which the Earl of Holland and Zealand owes me; I devise to Humphrey, Edward, William, and Æneas, my sons, that is to say, to each of them 2000 pounds, to buy lands or marriages, or to employ in other things, according as our said executors shall deem profitable to them; and if the money aforesaid amount to more, we wish it to be equally divided amongst our four sons aforesaid. Moreover, I devise to Eleanora my daughter, for her apparel, against her marriage, 200 pounds. Item, I devise to M. Hugh de Courtenay, 1000 marks, which I owe him for the marriage of Margaret my daughter with his son and heir. Item, I devise to the same Margaret, for her apparel against her marriage, 200 marks. Moreover, I devise to my eldest son all my armour, and an entire bed of green, powdered with white swans (the Bohun badge), with all its appurtenances." These are the principal entries relating to his family, excepting bequests to the guardians and mistresses of his children. He bequeathed large sums to different convents to pray for his soul, and also left handsome legacies to his legatees, including 20s. to each of his men-servants who should have been a year in his service on the day of his death.

out, by the prominence given to his name amongst the abettors in the so-called rebellion, in the state records¹. Having survived his wife five years, he fell, while fighting with lion-like courage, on the 16th of March, 1321, at the battle of Boroughbridge,—in which Thomas of Lancaster, afterwards sainted as a martyr to his country, also fell,—and was buried in the church of the friars preachers at York². “Alas the sorrow!” exclaims a chronicler, who details with great minuteness the circumstances of his death; “for there was slain the flower of solace, and comfort, and also of courtesy³.” Sadly did the after-life and tragic death of the ill-fated Edward II. atone for the noble blood thus recklessly shed in the civil strife which his weakness and folly had induced.

The large family of Humphrey and Elizabeth were left orphans, while some, at least, of the number were still very young. As the earl had died whilst engaged in open hostility to the throne, all his estates and even his jewels were taken into the king’s hands⁴, but they were afterwards restored. Two of the sons, John and

¹ See the Close Rolls of the 14th, 15th, 17th, and 18th of Edw. I., *passim*. Patent, 18 E. ii., m. 7. Rymer Collect., No. 4,579, Add. MSS. Among the documents in the celebrated volumes called the Great Cowcher, or Register of the Duchy of Lancaster, kept in the office of that duchy, is a copy of the indenture between the various persons connected with the conspiracy of Thomas of Lancaster, which was found in the pocket of Earl Humphrey after his decease. Vol. ii., ff. 27, 28.

² Dugdale’s Baronage, vol. i., p. 183. Chron. John Lond., MS. No. 20, f. 94 b., College of Arms. The latest record notices of Earl Humphrey occur on the Patent Rolls, 15 Edw. I., pt., mm. 16, 26.

³ Harl. MS. 266, f. 21 b. The earl is said to have fallen not in fair fight, but by a “thief and ribald,” who stole under the bridge and ran him through the body.

⁴ Abbrev. Rotul. Origin., 15 Edw. II., p. 261. Fine Roll, 15 Edw. II., mm. 3, 9. It was probably in compliance with the latter mandate that a curious inventory was made of the effects of the earl remaining in the abbey of Walden, which were delivered to Sir Nicolas de la Bèche. This inventory is printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 348-9.

Humphrey¹, successively inherited the earldom of Hereford; but both dying childless, it descended to Humphrey the eleventh of the name, son of William de Bohun, the only one of the numerous sons of the Princess Elizabeth who had any male issue. Her two surviving daughters were married into two of the noblest houses in the kingdom. Eleanora became the wife of James le Botiller or Butler, Earl of Ormond, and had a large family. Margaret married Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, one of a family illustrious by several royal alliances².

¹ A curious notice occurs in the will of this Earl Humphrey, of which an abstract is printed in Sir Harris Nicolas' *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i., p. 67. He bequeaths, among other things, to his sister Margaret, Countess of Devonshire, a bed and a bason, "in which we are accustomed to wash our head, and which formerly belonged to madame my mother."

² Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i., pp. 642, 643.

ELEANORA,

THE NINTH DAUGHTER OF EDWARD I.

CHAPTER II.

Ancestry and Birth of the Princess—Her baptism—Journey to Northampton—Exhibited in state—Betrothed in her cradle—Death of her father—Residence at Amesbury—Her death and burial.

THE Princess Eleanora, the youngest daughter of Edward I., was the second in his numerous family who bore that name. The blood of the Plantagenets mingled in her veins with that of the proud Capetian dynasty of French monarchs, her mother being Queen Margaret of France, the daughter of Philip the Hardy. However tenderly Edward I. had been attached to his *chère reine*, Eleanora of Castile, ample evidence exists that her successor, the young and gentle Margaret, engrossed at least an equal share of attentive affection. At those times, especially, when her situation gave promise of an increase to his family, she was the object of his anxious care. Margaret was already the mother of two fair sons, when, in March 1306, two months before the birth of her daughter, the king offered costly gifts at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, not only for himself, his queen, Prince Edward, the Princes Thomas and Edmund, but also for his yet unborn infant. When informed of the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth

of his daughter, he gave 40*l.* to the messenger who brought him the tidings¹.

The little princess was born at Winchester on the 4th of May, 1306², and was baptized in the royal chapel there, by the bishop of Winchester. The king wished her to bear the name of his first queen, and of his eldest daughter, long since deceased, Eleanora, Countess of Bar. The christening ceremonies were conducted with much state. The font was newly decorated for the occasion, and the infant was enveloped in a coverlet of the richest cloth of gold, which cost 10*l.*³ She was afterwards exhibited to the assembled nobles, laid in a state cradle, which was covered with ermine, and had a counterpane of cloth of gold. A nurse and two rockers were in constant attendance, and beside the state cradle, two other painted cradles, and a bed richly hung, were provided for her use.

In the month of June, the infant princess was conveyed from Winchester to Northampton, where the royal nursery had been for some time past established under the charge of Master John de Weston⁴. She travelled in a litter covered with green cloth and lined with crimson silk, inside of which was a cradle, "for the body of the said Lady Eleanora to be placed in," which, as well as the litter, was profusely gilded. She was thus carried by two men on horseback, attired in new liveries of blue cloth. Her journey lasted sixteen days, from the 17th

¹ Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

² A Wardrobe Fragment in the Queen's Remembrancer Office names the 4th of May as her birthday, but most of the chroniclers give the 6th as the date. *Matt. Westm.*, p. 454. *Rob. of Reading*, Harl. MS. 685, f. 191. *Annales Luculenti*, Cott. MS., Nero D. ii., f. 197.

³ Ward. Roll, 34 Edw. I., No. 2,127, Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Rot. Exit., 35 Edw. I., Pasch. Amongst the recently calendared correspondence in the Chapter House is a letter from Edward I., dated July 4th, this year, directing the Countess of Pembroke to send John Comyn the younger to Northampton, there to remain, in safe keeping, with John de Weston, keeper of the king's children.

of June, to the 3rd of July; very slow and gentle movement being requisite, when a baby of a little more than a month old, was the principal traveller. The charges of her attendants in bread, wine, venison, fish, &c., during the journey, were 22*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*¹, but other incidental expenses increased the amount to 66*l.* 8*s.*²

The head nurse, or, as she is called in the wardrobe accounts, the *keeper* of the Lady Eleanora, was Adeline de Venise; she had a large train of attendants, some of whom received letters from the king during the progress of their journey, probably enjoining additional precautions for the safety of their infant mistress³. After her arrival at Northampton, she appeared in due state at all the great festivals, as one of the royal family; and tiny robes of scarlet and cloth of gold, trimmed with rich furs, were periodically provided for her, at each recurrence of these festivals⁴. More congenial to her infant tastes was another purchase, recorded in the wardrobe accounts, of milk regularly supplied for her use⁵.

The queen presented many offerings at different shrines, for the safety of this precious child:—viz., at those of St. Richard of Chichester, St. Edmund of Edmundsbury, and St. Mary's of Walsingham. Her measure in wax was taken, and sent to Canterbury, probably to be presented before the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket⁶.

Whilst the comfort of the little Eleanora was thus sedulously attended to, her father was making arrangements which were to pave the way for her future greatness and prosperity. When his daughter was only four days old, he sent messengers to the continent to negotiate

¹ Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I.

² Ward. Fragm., 34 Edw. I., Queen's Rememb.

³ Ward. Book, 34 Edw. I.; also another Wardrobe Book, uncalendared, but about the same date. Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Ward. Roll, 34 Edw. I., No. 2,127, Queen's Rememb.

⁵ Ward. Book, Temp. Edw. I., ut sup.

⁶ Ibid.

her marriage with Robert, son and heir of Otho, late Earl of Burgundy and Artois¹. His proposals were listened to and accepted by the Duchess of Burgundy, who had the custody of her son. Edward agreed to provide honourable and sufficient sustenance for his child, such as became her state, until the period of her marriage, to pay 10,000 marks sterling for her dowry, and 5000 within the two following years, for her attire². He solicited and obtained the consent of the Pope, and her destiny was thus decided upon, before the unconscious infant had completed the first year of her existence³.

The following year deprived Eleanora of the father who had so tenderly cared for her. She had spent the intervening time at Northampton with her brother⁴, but in 1308, her mother Queen Margaret went abroad⁵; her two brothers were sent to reside at Mortlake, in Surrey⁶, and Eleanora was committed to the care of the Princess Mary, her half-sister. Her expenses were borne by her step-brother, King Edward II.⁷; but she seems to have resided at Amesbury, with the nun-princess, until the time of her death⁸, which took place in the year 1311, when she was only five years old.

Her remains were conveyed for interment to the monastery of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, under the charge of two of the king's servants, Sir Robert de Hanstede and Henry de Lutgershall. The whole arrangements of the funeral, which was conducted in a manner worthy of her royal birth, were committed to them, and the king paid

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 986.

² *Rot. Pat.*, 34 Edw. I., m. 10.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 1000.

⁴ *Rot. Exit.*, 34 Edw. I., Mich. 35 Edw. I., Mich.

⁵ *Rot. Pat.*, 1 Edw. II., m. 1.

⁶ *Rot. Exit.*, 1 Edw. II., Pasch.

⁷ *Rot. Exit.*, 3 Edw. II., Mich.

⁸ *Rot. Exit.*, 4 Edw. II., Mich.

them the expenses, amounting to upwards of 100*l*.¹; but not one of her own family appears to have been present at the last rites paid to her, nor is any monument known to have been raised to her memory.

¹ Ward. Acct., 4 Edw. II., No. 7,043, Queen's Rememb. Rot. Exit., 4 Edw. II., Mich., p. 147, Devon's Excerpta.

ELEANORA,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF EDWARD II.

CHAPTER III.

Unfortunate reign of Edward II.—Birth of Eleanora—Early infancy—Rejected by the King of Castile—Summoned to join the Queen at Bristol—Death of her father—Eleanora committed to the charge of her brother and his queen—Kindness of Edward III.—He fails in an attempt to unite her to the Dauphin of France and the Infant of Aragon—The Earl of Gueldres visits England and proposes for her—Accepted—Eleanora's dower—Splendid trousseau and equipage—She sails for Gueldres—Pecuniary embarrassments of her brother caused by expenses for her—Early career of her husband—Her reception in Gueldres—Political union of Raynald and Edward III.—Birth of Eleanora's children—Raynald joins Edward III. against the King of France—Coolness between them—Raynald suspects his wife of leprosy—Separates from her—She appeals against his treatment—Is received again—Their subsequent cordiality—Death of Raynald—Regency of Eleanora—Unnatural conduct of her sons—Eleanora retires to a convent—Her death and burial—Her image in Westminster Abbey.

IN turning attention to the reign of King Edward II., and contrasting his feeble, vacillating rule with the vigorous though ambitious career of his father, the reader of general history becomes vividly impressed with the entire change that passed over the state policy of the kingdom, whilst the searcher into the antique lore of bygone days becomes no less painfully conscious of an utter change in the domestic circumstances and arrangements of the royal family of England. This may be partly attributed to the altered character of the reigning monarch, but still more so to that of the queen. Haughty, imperious, and selfish, Isabella of France seems to have been entirely destitute

of the conjugal and maternal virtues that shone so conspicuously in the characters of her predecessors. To her eldest son she attached herself closely, but it was because he was a fitting instrument for the prosecution of her vengeful or ambitious schemes; her other children were treated with great neglect.

Eleanora, her eldest daughter and third child, was born at Woodstock in the year 1318, the eleventh of the reign of Edward II¹. The queen, lavish in her personal expenditure, spent the immense sum of 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon herself, at the feast of her purification², but no provision suitable to her rank appears to have been made for the infant princess. She was cradled in troublous times. The disputes between the king and his barons, that shook the throne to its basis, had already assumed a threatening aspect; and, in the tumult of outward affairs, the monarch had little leisure to attend to domestic cares. He was not, however, totally negligent of his daughter. When she was scarcely a year old, he granted to her and her brother, Prince John of Eltham, for their support, the castle and honour of the Peak³, with the chase and appurtenances situated in Nottingham and Derby, together with other revenues and manors amounting in annual value to upwards of 1000*l.*⁴ These they were to hold free from all dues to the crown, and also to possess all advowsons, fees, and other rights belonging to them⁵.

¹ Trokelowe, *Annales Edw. II.*, p. 44. Extracts from a Wardrobe Acct., *Edw. II.*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi., p. 337. Cotton. M.S., Domit., A. xii., f. 40 b.

² Wardrobe Book, 11 *Edw. II.* Quoted in a letter from Thomas Stapleton, Esq., *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi., p. 337. Ward. Book, 24 *Edw. II.*, Addit. MS., 9951, f. 22.

³ The ruins of the castle, situated on the summit of the Peak mountain, near Castleton, are well known to all lovers of the picturesque who have visited Derbyshire.

⁴ Rot. Lib., 2 *Edw. II.*, m. 2. Rot. Pat., 12 *Edw. II.*, pt. 1, m. 19. Abbrev. Rotul. Origin. *Edw. II.*, p. 243.

⁵ Patent Roll, 12 *Edw. II.*, pt. 2, m. 11. Rymer Collect. Addit. MS., 4578, folio 90.

The young princess, together with her sister Joanna, who was three years her junior, seems to have been confided to the care of Ralph Monthermer, and of the Lady Isabella de Valence, sister of the Earl of Pembroke, and widow of John de Hastings, whom Monthermer married as his second wife, as mentioned in a preceding volume¹. They resided generally at the castle of Pleshy, in Essex, the property of the Earl of Hereford, whose lands were all forfeited to the crown, for the share he took in the so-called rebellion of Thomas of Lancaster²; but they occasionally occupied the castle of Marlborough, long a favourite abode of English royalty. All the state apartments there were given up to Monthermer, for the convenience of the princesses, that they might be more safely and honourably kept and attended³.

Of the lonely and desolate childhood of these neglected princesses very slight records remain. Their *gouvernante* was called Johanette Jermyn, and was a person of sufficient importance to have a maid in attendance upon her⁴; she is called the sister of the Countess of Pembroke, or "countess marshall," as she was sometimes styled⁵. Their attendants consisted of a chamberlain, a woman, a damsel, and a page for each of them, and also a tailor to superintend their wardrobes. Eleanora's tailor was called John de Thresk, and he remained in her service for many years. Under his direction her garments were purchased and made. Robes with four garnitures or rows of trimmings, made of cloth, dyed in grain, trimmed with miniver⁶, and

¹ Rot. Pat., 18 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 31. See also Ward. Roll, 18 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb.

² Ward. Fragment, temp. Edw. II., Queen's Rememb.

³ Rot. Pat., 18 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 31.

⁴ Wardrobe Accts., Portfolio 328, 19 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb.

⁵ Undated Ward. Fragment, about 19 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb.

⁶ Ward. Roll, 18 Edw. II., Queen's Rememb. Ward. Rolls of the Pipe, 17 Edw. II. and 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., sub anno 18 Edw. II.

with a cape of purple, linen mantles, shoes, hoods, &c., are among the scanty list of articles provided for the princesses. Nine ells of cloth were portioned out for a robe for the eldest sister, and seven for the younger. Considering the substantial texture of the fabric of which they were composed, the poor children must have found their furred robes cumbersome enough. No costly attire or jewellery adorned their persons. No offerings were made at sacred shrines on their account; and they rarely received from their parents those tokens of affection, in new-year's gifts and other presents, of which so many instances occur in the united and attached family of Edward I'. Almost the only public mark of interest shown by the king towards his family was that he several times ordered the friars preachers throughout his realm to offer up prayers for himself, his queen, and his children; and especially to petition that the children might grow up in usefulness and honour, abounding in piety and good works².

In the year 1325 a negociation was set on foot by Edward II., for the marriage of the Princess Eleanora with Alphonso V., the young King of Castile, whose sister Eleanora was wooed to become the bride of Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward III³. But a quarrel arose between the two monarchs in reference to the dower of the brides. Edward wished them to be both similarly portioned, whilst Alphonso urged that since his bride would immediately be crowned queen, whilst his sister, in espousing Prince Edward, would have to be subject to all contingencies of life, and probably to wait many years before she reached the same dignity, she ought not to be so largely dowered as the English prin-

A silver cup and bowl, presented by her father to Eleanora, is the only present she is recorded to have received. Ward. Book, 24 Edw. II., f. 41, b.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 463.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 585, 586. Rymer Collect. Addit. MS. 4,578, f. 185. Patent Roll, 18 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 22.

cess¹. Neither party would consent to swerve from their own propositions on this subject, and as Eleanora's bridegroom-elect was thwarted in his project of making a good bargain for her, the match was allowed to fall through².

In the spring of the year 1325, the queen went into France, and was followed in the autumn by her son Prince Edward. During her absence the princesses, with their brother, Prince John of Eltham, were removed from their former guardians, and placed under the charge of the king's notorious favourite, the elder Sir Hugh le Despencer. This nobleman removed them to Bristol, where they resided, not in the castle, but in some part of the ancient town.

In 1326, when the queen returned to England with her son and a small army, to vindicate her own cause, and that of the nation generally, against her husband's favourites, Edward himself, with the two Despenchers, fled for safety to Bristol, but in vain. Reinforced by the people, who flocked to her from all sides, Isabella advanced to the city, which was speedily surrendered, with the exception of the castle, where the king had fled for refuge, attended by the younger Despencer. The elder, the guardian of the young princesses, remaining in the city, was delivered up to the queen, whose next inquiry was for her children. Prince John and the two princesses were then conducted to her, and, as she had not seen them for a long time, this meeting gave her great joy, as well as all her party.

But the delight of the children in seeing again the mother and brother from whom they had parted for eighteen months, was soon changed into terror, by the fearful scene that ensued, when their guardian, Sir Hugh le Despencer, after suffering many tortures, was hung on

¹ Cotton. MS. Vesp., c. xii., f. 49. This document is dated from Valladolid, Wednesday, May 22, 1325. See also *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 611.

² Close Roll, 18 Edw. II., mm. 12, 18 dorso, and 19 Edw. II., mm. 25, 13 dorso.

lofty gibbet, and there exposed to public gaze for four days¹.

One tragedy rapidly succeeded another, the execution of the younger Despencer, and afterwards the atrocious and horrible murder of the king himself, at the instigation of the queen, were circumstances that could not fail to make a deep impression on Eleanora, at an age when the mind is sensitively alive to the force of external scenes and circumstances. The bent of character in after-life is often traceable to some strong impression made upon the mind in childhood, and it is probable that these tragic scenes, to which Eleanora now became witness, tended to produce in her that shrinking diffidence and unwillingness to interfere in public affairs, which characterized her future career. A few more months deprived the princess of a father, whose parental feelings towards the close of his life were so strongly awakened, that he complained of the deprivation of his children's society as one of the bitterest ingredients in his cup of sorrow, although he had previously bestowed on them but few tokens of parental regard. Eleanora was now placed under the exclusive care of that unprincipled mother, whose previous neglect had been even more reprehensible. At her first accession to the regency, the queen kept her young family united around her, in order that the king might find cheerful and suitable companionship in his brother, Prince John of Eltham, and his two sisters. She conducted them to spend the Easter festival of 1327, at the abbey of Peterborough. They were attended by three bishops, with their *chancery*, that is to say, the suite of officers necessary for the dispatch of business, and remained ten days as guests of the abbot Adam de Botheby, who exerted himself with so much liberality to entertain them, that their expenses, during that short period, amounted to 487*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, exclusive of the inroads made upon the larder, wine

¹ Johnes' translation of Froissart's Chronicles, vol. i., pp. 28, 29.

and beer-cellars, and stable stores of the abbey¹. Shortly afterwards, the queen permitted the young king to go on a warlike expedition to Scotland. During his absence she took up her abode, with her younger son and her two daughters, at the archiepiscopal palace in the ancient city of York². In July, considerable alarm was excited by a sudden incursion of the Scots, who advanced as far as Carlisle, ravaging the whole country. A mandate was issued in the king's name, to the mayor and sheriffs of York, commanding them to look well to their walls, ditches, and fortifications, to repair their existing defences, and erect fresh ones if necessary, and to appoint a special guard over the city, "so that no danger from the entrance of an enemy, may happen to our said city, nor any fear or terror be caused to our mother, brother, or sisters, by defect of guard³."

The following year, the princess lost the society of her younger sister Joanna, with whom from early infancy she had been constantly associated. Eleanora was present at Berwick, when the little princess was plighted to David the Bruce, afterwards King of Scotland⁴. Nearly two years elapsed after this event, when the disgraceful conduct of the queen-mother led to her deprivation of all authority, even over her own children⁵, and Eleanora was consigned to the kindlier keeping of her young brother, King Edward III., and to that of the amiable and generous queen, Philippa of Hainault, who arrived in England in the year 1328. From this time

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edit., vol. i., p. 339. Sparke's *Scriptores*, p. 230.

² Close Roll, 1 Edw. III., pt. 2, memb. 17 dorso.

³ Scotch Roll, 1 Edw. III., m. 3 dorso.

⁴ Ward. Roll of the Pipe, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., sub anno 2 Edw. III.

⁵ The *Bibliothèque des Romans*, for March 1779, p. 91, contains a romance on the history of Queen Isabella, graphically written, and containing many anecdotes of the court of Edward II., but of course valueless as historic authority.

she resided entirely at court, in the company of her sister-in-law. The king treated her with all the distinction due to her rank and near relationship to himself. In 1331 he presented to William Colby, the treasurer of Queen Philippa, 1000*l.* for the expenses of "his dearest sister Eleanora, staying in her company¹." He also granted to his queen all the revenues of the county of Chester, to aid in the maintenance of his little son Edward, afterwards the celebrated Black Prince, and of his sister Eleanora², and to the princess herself, the manor of Shireton in Wiltshire, for her personal benefit³. The robes, corsets, cloaks and hoods of the princess, were regularly provided, at each of the recurring festivals⁴.

Her suite of attendants was also much more numerous than it had been during the life-time of her father. She had her chaplain, clerk of the chapel, and page; her six ladies of honour, three esquires, four valets-de-chambre, chamber-women, washerwomen, and a host of inferior domestics⁵. Her tailor, and the damsel who had charge of her chamber, had a *carte blanche* to apply to the king's wardrobe-keeper for every requisite for her use, convenience, or luxury⁶. The nurse who had tended her in infancy, received a pension of 30*l.* a-year from the king, and was dismissed, her services being now no longer needed⁷.

¹ Rot. Lib., 5 Edw. III., m. 8.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 311. Abbrev. Rotul. Origin., 5 Edw. III., p. 58.

³ See Patent Roll, 6 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 17.

⁴ They were of Louvain or Malines cloth, lined with silk, or of tartain, said to be a woollen cloth of a scarlet colour, and were richly purfled, trimmed, and furred, 244 skins being employed upon one robe alone. *Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages. Introduction. Ward. Acct.*, 4 Edw. III., 7,043, *Queen's Rememb. Ward. Roll Pipe*, ut sup., sub ann. 2, 3, 4, 5 Edw. III.

⁵ Ward, Roll Pipe, Edw II. and III., sub anno 5 Edw. III.

⁶ Rot. Claus., 5 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 4.

⁷ Rot. Lib., 4 Edw. III., m. 3. Pell Roll, 3 Edw. III., East. passim.

In 1332 the royal family celebrated their Christmas festivities together. Eleanor and her brother Prince John of Eltham were present on the occasion, and the king gave to each a golden cup, as a new-year's gift¹.

The king had endeavoured, in the year 1329, to arrange a marriage between his sister and John, eldest son and heir of Philip VI., King of France². The negotiations were continued for upwards of a year³, but the glittering vision of a diadem of France proved a delusion as futile as that of Spain had previously done: the unfortunate Eleanor was doomed a second time to a rejection. Similar ill-success attended a negotiation entered into, the following year, to marry her to Peter, eldest son of Alphonso IV., King of Aragon, the management of which was committed to "the noble and faithful William Trussell," secretary to the king⁴.

Despairing, therefore, of obtaining a regal coronet for his sister, Edward was obliged to bend his thoughts somewhat lower. About this time, Raynald II., Earl of Gueldres and Zutphen, a continental ally of King Edward, visited the court of England, to congratulate the monarch on a recent victory over the Scots⁵. He had become a widower, by the death of his first wife, Sophia of Malines⁶; and the budding charms of the young English princess attracting his regards, he demanded her hand in marriage. The matter was taken into considera-

¹ Ward. *Fragm. temp. Edw. III.*, undated, but the date is ascertained by a comparison of the places of the king's residence on certain days, with the dates on the Close Roll of the 5th of Edw. III.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 766. *Contin. Trivet's Annals*, Harl. MS. 688, f. 345. *Patent Roll*, 3 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 13.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 777, 785, 794. *Lansdowne MS.* 291, f. 243. *Patent Roll*, 4 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 50.

⁴ *Patent Roll*, 4 Edw. III., pt. 2, memb. 31. The patent is marked in the margin "Vacat quia restitutus fuit."

⁵ Pontanus, *Historia Gelriæ*, p. 215.

⁶ She died on the 4th of May, 1329. *Pontanus*, p. 212.

tion, and ambassadors from both parties were appointed to meet and arrange the terms of a contract¹.

At length, in October 1331, it was concluded that Raynald should assign to his bride, lands to the value of 16,000 livres tournois per annum, to be enjoyed for life, and these lands were to be placed in the hands of John of Shoreditch, her procurator, professor of civil law, within two months after her marriage. On the other hand, her brother was to present her with a portion of 10,000*l.* sterling, 5000*l.* to be paid the ensuing May at Helvoet-sluis in Flanders, and the remaining 5000*l.* in the June of the following year. Edward pledged himself that his sister should be suitably equipped, both in personal attire, and the furniture of her apartments; a promise which, as we shall have occasion to observe, he well fulfilled. He also engaged to send the princess to Helvoet-sluis the following May, there to be entrusted to commissioners sent by her future husband to receive her².

In both of his marriages, Raynald paid a prudential, though most unpoetic regard to money matters. In his youth he had been very extravagant, and reduced to pledge several of his castles, to relieve himself from pressing embarrassments. He therefore chose for his first wife, a young lady of inferior rank to himself, but whose parents were so wealthy, that they consented to pay all his debts, to redeem his mortgaged estates, and to give an immense dowry with their daughter³.

The statute which permitted an English monarch to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 826-832. Patent Roll, 5 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 7.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 834. Patent Roll, 5 Edw. III., pt. 2, memb. 6. *Ibid.*, 6 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 9.

³ *Teschenmacher, Annales Gelriæ*, p. 513. *Chron. Gelriæ*, Middlehill MS., 1889, f. 82. We are indebted to the courtesy of Sir Thomas Phillipps, for a perusal of this valuable MS. chronicle, which contains particulars relating to the Duchess Eleanora, not given in any printed chronicle of Gueldres.

levy a tax on his subjects, for the dowry of the princess royal, was doubtless well known; thus Raynald would feel secure of an ample portion, when he proposed an alliance with the English princess. King Edward ordered the most magnificent preparations to be made for the equipment of Eleanora. The negligent manner in which, during his minority, the unpopular marriage of his younger sister, the Lady Joanna, with David the Bruce, had been hurried over, rendered him particularly anxious that the nuptials of the princess royal should be solemnized with all possible state. On the 20th of April, 1332, he summoned the Bishop of Winchester, his treasurer, the chamberlains of the exchequer, Robert de Tong, clerk of Eleanora's household, and other officers, to meet at London, and to consult together, that proper equipment, becoming his honour and hers, might without delay be provided for the princess and her household, on their approaching voyage¹.

The inventory of Eleanora's wardrobe and jewels fills several closely written membranes in the wardrobe roll of the year. The following articles are a few amongst those there named:—a mantle cloak, and a hood of blue Brussels cloth furred with ermine, two pelisses of green cloth worked with golden beads, a surtunic of cloth of gold, embroidered with the representation of a chase of hares and stags, a coronal composed of 260 large white pearls, another of 420 pieces of silver, and several zones wrought with pearls, silk and gold. Her bridal attire consisted of a robe of Spanish cloth of gold, embroidered with silks of different colours, with a tunic and mantle of rich crimson velvet, embroidered with gold. Her bridal bed was of green velvet, adorned with the arms of England and Gueldres wrought in gold, the curtains

¹ Bills of Privy Seal, Nos. 862, 863, in a volume marked B. v., 21, formerly in the Chapter House, Westminster, now in the Rolls House, Chancery Lane.

of silk from Tripoli, similarly embroidered, and the crimson coverlet was wrought with a hunting scene, depicting a chase of hares and other animals. Her chariot, which was externally painted all over with coats of arms, was lined with purple velvet powdered with stars of gold, from the centre of each of which gleamed a glittering gem. To preserve this from dust, it had a covering of oil-cloth, or rather the wax-cloth, which was then used in its stead. The cost of this splendid equipage was 20*l*.¹ Besides this state chariot, Eleanora had four others to carry her wardrobe, &c., and sixteen sumpter horses. She had also saddles and saddle-horses in abundance for herself and her ladies. The furniture of her hall and chamber was equally sumptuous. Her chairs were of crimson velvet fringed with green; her table-covers were wrought with figures of the apostles and others, or else with coats of arms, and the skins with which her benches in the hall was covered, had deer and other animals stamped on them in silver. For her chapel, in addition to carpets, curtains, and a splendid service of gold and silver plate, a missal, two pocket breviaries, a Psalter, a Paternoster, said to be of amber², a gradual and tropars are named. Provision was also made for the erection of a closet, to afford her the opportunity of occasional retirement. Her pantry was provided with abundance of silver dishes, bowls, spoons, cups, tankards, table-knives, trenchers, and other vessels.

The princess carried with her large quantities of spicery, including under that head many articles which are now become ordinary conveniences of life, but were then considered luxuries. She was not only amply supplied with saffron, ginger, cloves, pepper, cinnamon, &c., but with considerable stores amounting in the whole to

¹ Devon's Excerpta from the Issue Rolls, 6 Edw. III., p. 142.

² Wardrobe Roll, 6 Edw. III., Queen's Rememb.

more than three tons weight, of Poland and other wax, 100 lbs. of rice, 20 lbs. of dates, 12 lbs. of Corinth raisins, 2 frails of figs, 127 lbs. of white loaf sugar,¹ and 20 lbs. of Cyprus sugar². A quantity of sandal or sandres wood is also mentioned; an article which, when very finely powdered, produced a beautiful red colour; from which circumstance, we fear the princess was guilty of rouging her cheeks³.

When it is remembered that the above particulars comprise only about one third of the long list of the lady Eleanora's bridal equipments, it will be confessed that her brother well redeemed the pledge he had given to Earl Raynald.

Active preparations were now made to convey the princess and her *cortége* to her future home. Ambassadors were dispatched to the continental powers, to ensure her safe passage⁴; the king wrote to the constable of Dover and to the bailiffs of Sandwich, to prepare vessels for her and her train, two of which were to be in readiness earlier than the rest, in order to carry some steeds which the king wished to be sent beforehand, to wait her arrival, beyond seas⁵. The remaining vessels were to be all ready, in the port of Sandwich, on Friday, the festival of the apostles Philip and James, May 1st⁶.

Robert de Tong, who had served Eleanora for some time in the capacity of clerk of the household, was promoted to the dignity of her treasurer; and, as such, was appointed to draw out a list of those persons who intended to accompany the princess abroad, and give it to the

¹ "Saccharum album in pane."

² Ward. Roll, 6 Edw. III., Queen's Rememb. Ward. Roll Pipe, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., sub anno 6 Edw. III.

³ Froissart, speaking of David, King of Scotland, who had an inflamed eye, says it was "red, as though painted with sandres wood." Vol. ii., p. 169.

⁴ Fœdera, vol. i., p. 833.

⁵ Rot. Claus., 6 Edw. III., m. 26 dorso.

⁶ Fœdera, vol. i., pp. 835, 836.

parties employed in providing the vessels, that they might know the extent to which such provision was requisite¹. He was likewise deputed to pay her expenses and those of her attendants, up to the time of their quitting England; these amounted to 1635 marks², exclusive of the money paid for her passage³. She was attended by William, Lord Zouch of Mortimer, and Sir Constantine Mortimer, who afterwards became her household steward⁴; also by her treasurer, Robert Tong, eight knights, two ladies, a chamber-woman, a washerwoman, and one hundred and thirty-six men-servants, amongst whom are mentioned four minstrels, two esquires, six pages, a salterer, poulterer, and two sumpterers. They had in their train fifty horses⁵.

The time had now arrived for the young princess to bid adieu to the land of her birth,—a land which she was destined never again to behold,—and to those who had been the companions of her girlhood. Queen Philippa gave her a parting present of a furred robe, and the king, her brother, presented her with six altar draperies of cloth of gold, to offer in different churches on her journey⁶. He also gave her 30*l.* in money, to help her out of an embarrassment occasioned by her inability to discharge sundry small debts, which from time to time she had incurred to different members of the royal household⁷. The princess and her train set sail for Helvoet-sluis, early in May. In order to fulfil his pecuniary engagements with his brother-in-law, Edward was compelled to borrow largely from the celebrated merchant company of

¹ Privy Seal Bill, 6 Edw. III., date April 10, Tower.

² Rot. Lib., 6 Edw. III., m. 3.

³ Ibid., m. 5.

⁴ Dugd. Baronage, vol. i., p. 154. Parnes, Edw. III., p. 69.

⁵ Ward. Roll, 6 Edw. III., Queen's Rememb. *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 836. Pell Roll, 6 Edw. III., Easter.

⁶ Ward. Roll, 6 Edw. III.

⁷ Privy Seal Bills, 6 Edw. III., No. 858, in a volume marked B. v. 21, now in the Rolls House.

the Bardi, at Florence, who advanced to the duke, on his behalf, the stipulated payments for Eleanora's dowry¹.

The sums expended by the king for his sister were so enormous, that, although he had previously obtained a grant of a fifteenth of all the temporalities and a tenth of the spiritualities for her dower², he was compelled to appeal to the prelates of the realm, stating, that "since, for the marriage of our very dear sister, Eleanora, with the nobleman, Raynald, Earl of Gueldres, we have incurred very great expense, as indeed it behoved us to do, for the preserving of our royal honour; and since we are, on this account, in debt to divers merchants, we beseech you that you will grant us on this occasion, such a subsidy that we may be more specially obligated to favour you in any petitions you may henceforth have to make to us." Letters to this purport were sent to the Archbishop of York, first, and then to all the bishops, abbots, and priors³; but they were far less productive than was anticipated, although the king pledged himself that the liberality requested on this occasion should not be urged as a precedent at any future time⁴. Among the Tower letters, are innumerable epistles from these dignitaries, apologizing for the non-payment of the sums requested, and the close rolls abound with urgent demands from the king for further remittances⁵.

At the time of her marriage, Eleanora had not completed her fifteenth year, while her husband was in the prime of life, and already the father of four daughters⁶. From the darkness of his complexion and

¹ Paris, vol. ii., p. 2560.

² Patent Roll, 6 Edw. III., pt. 1, memb. 9.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 840, 858, 859, 861, 864, 869. *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, p. 80 b.

⁴ Patent Roll, 7 Edw. III., pt. 1, memb. 12.

⁵ Close Rolls, 6 and 7 Edw. III., *passim*. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 851. Four years after this time, some of the remittances were still to be gathered in. See Devon's *Excerpta* from the Pell Roll, 11 Edw. II., 147. *Rot. Lib.*, 10 Edw. III., m. 1.

⁶ These were Margaret, Matilda, Mary, and Isabella. The first

hair, he had acquired the sobriquet of "Reinout de Swerte," Raynald the swarthy, or "Reynaldus de fusco-capite," Raynald the black-haired¹. His early career, had been one of daring and reckless ambition. Eager for rule, he would not wait until the ordinary course of events put him in possession of the earldom; but, taking advantage of the weakness, amounting almost to imbecility, which had characterized his father's government, he formed a party against him, and seized and confined him in prison. After a dreary captivity of six years, death at length terminated the sufferings of the aged earl, and Raynald, who had hitherto endeavoured to sanction his proceedings, by administering affairs in his father's name, formally assumed the earldom, in the year 1326². His domestic government was able and vigorous. He obtained a memorable victory over the Brabançons and Liegois³, and his character for military skill, energy, and firmness, rendered him, in the estimation of foreign potentates, one of the principal among the secondary powers of Europe, although in extent of dominion he was far inferior to many of his neighbours.

The ancient province of Gueldres was bounded on the north by Friesland, on the east by the earldom of Cleves, on the south by that of Juliers, and on the west by those

died young; Matilda married firstly Godfrey, Count of Henneberg in Upper Saxony, secondly, John, Earl of Cleves, and thirdly, John, Earl of Blois. Mary became the wife of the Earl of Juliers, and her son afterwards succeeded in her right to the dukedom of Gueldres. Isabella was Abbess of Gravenenthal. *Teschmacher, Annales Gelriæ*, p. 513. *Wilhelmus Beda, de Episcop. Ultraject*, p. 259.

¹ Pontanus, *Hist. Gelr.*, p. 209. Anderson, in his *Genealogy of Gueldres*, p. 590, calls him Raynaldus *Rufus*, or the Red, as does also Miræus, *Annales Belgici*, p. 851.

² Zueder de Culdenburg, *Matthæus Anal. Med. Ævi*, vol. iii., p. 595. Butkens apologizes for this conduct, on the supposition that Raynald I., who in early youth had received a wound on the head in battle, was probably incapable of holding the reins of government, but this conjecture is not confirmed by the Gueldres chroniclers (See *Trophées de Brabant*, i., 365), and it is directly called a false pretence by a contemporary writer. *Chron. Wil. Mon. Egm.*, *Matthæus Anal.*, vol. ii., p. 603.

³ Aquilius, *comp. Hist. Gelriæ*, p. 45. Pontanus, p. 210.

of Holland and Brabant. It contained twenty-two fortified towns, and about three hundred villages and towns of inferior note. It was rather flat, but extremely fruitful, abounding in woods and groves. The city of Nimeguen was at that time the capital of Gueldres, where stood the palace in which the dukes principally dwelt¹. This palace, as well as his other residences, had been recently renovated, and beautified with the spoils won by Earl Raymond from the Brabançons², and here he brought his young bride. She was received with much enthusiasm by the people, who were touched by her youth, and proud of the honourable alliance contracted by their earl. The nuptial feasts were celebrated with great splendour, and lasted for many days³.

The union of Raynald with the Princess Royal of England led to a closer intimacy than had before subsisted between him and Edward III⁴. That monarch, with all the ardent energy that characterized his rule, was pursuing his designs against the Scots and their young King, David the Bruce, the husband of his sister Joanna, whom, heedless of this near connexion, he was using every effort to dethrone. Wearied, and sometimes almost baffled by the intrepid resistance of the Scots, he had recourse to foreign aid, and wrote to the Earl of Gueldres, requesting his support against these troublesome neighbours. According to Gray's *Scalachronica*⁵, which is followed by Boethius⁶, Raynald actually went over with a body of forces, in 1335, to the assistance of Edward, then engaged in the siege of Perth, but was overtaken and put to flight by Randolph, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scot-

¹ Swertius, *Athenæ Belgicæ*.

² Pontanus, p. 210.

³ Chron. Wil. Monach. Egmond. Matthæus, *Analecta Medii Æv*, vol. ii., p. 718.

⁴ Documents concerning confederations between him and Edward abound in the *Fœdera*. See vol. ii., pp. 928, 955, 970, 985.

⁵ Published by the Maitland Society, edited by J. Stevenson, Esq., p. 165.

⁶ Page 125.

land. He took refuge in Edinburgh Castle, then in the hands of the English party; there he was besieged by Randolph, and obliged to yield at discretion, only obtaining a pledge for his personal safety. The Scots, however, restored his troops to him, on condition of his forsaking the party of Edward and promising to yield him no further assistance. The gallant Earl of Murray, with the chivalric courtesy which so distinguished his character, accompanied his prisoner to the very borders of England¹, when, venturing too far, he was seized and made captive by a party of English skirmishers². The defeat of Earl Raynald was thus incidentally productive of much more advantage to the cause he advocated, than his success would, in all probability, have been; the Scots being deprived of a judicious, bold, and experienced leader, just at the crisis when his presence among them was especially needed. Fordun, however, and other Scotch chroniclers make the Earl of Namur, and not the Earl of Gueldres, the hero of this adventure.

In 1337, Raynald paid a visit to England, and was received and entertained with great honour by King Edward³. It does not seem that Eleanora accompanied her husband on this occasion. She was probably detained at home by the tender ties of maternal love; for, on the 13th of May, in the year 1334, she had given birth to an infant son, who was called Raynald, after his father⁴. His birth was the cause of great rejoicing; all the earl's children by his first wife being daughters, this infant was, of course, heir apparent to the earldom. The relations of the Countess Eleanora sympathized in her delight. She sent over her valet immediately to inform her brother King

¹ Boethius asserts, p. 125, that the courtesy with which the Scots treated him was owing to his being a vassal of the King of France.

² *Scotorum Historia*, p. 319.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 996.

⁴ *Chron. Gelriæ*, Middlehill MS. 1,889, f. 115.

Edward of the auspicious event, and he gave £20 to the messenger who brought him the tidings¹.

A mother at the early age of sixteen, Eleanora appears to have devoted herself with earnest tenderness to the nurture and education of that son, who, in after-life, so ill repaid her affectionate anxiety. In her domestic duties, and in the exercises of her religion, she seems to have placed her chief delight. In the year 1336, another son, whom she named Edward, after her father and brother, added to her maternal cares². Her character, in its gentle unobtrusiveness, contrasts pleasingly with the bold and bad pre-eminence acquired by her mother, Isabella of France. The depressing effect of early neglect and sorrow was evident in her subdued and timid spirit, which ever shrank from public gaze; and although she was the connecting link that bound together her husband and brother, she did not in the slightest degree interfere in their political schemes, and her name is not even mentioned by either, in the frequent correspondence that was for some years carried on between them.

No sooner had Edward III. reduced Scotland to a nominal subjection, than his energetic mind set itself to work upon another scheme, over which he had long brooded in silence. This was to make good his claim to the crown of France, as the son of Isabella the Fair, against Philip de Valois, who, as the nearest male heir of Charles IV., was in possession of the throne by virtue of the Salic law, which precluded the succession of the French crown in the female line. To strengthen him in such an undertaking, Edward needed all the allies he could muster, and among the foremost to do his bidding, was Raynald of Gueldres.

¹ Ward. Fragment, temp. Edw. III., Queen's Rememb. This document is undated, but the places of the king's residence on certain days coincide with those on the Close Roll of the 7th of Edw. III.

² Pontanus, *Historia Gelriæ*, p. 223. Schlichtenhorst, *Geldresse Geschiednissen*, p. 125.

In vain did the King of France write to him in urgent terms, entreating him not to advocate the cause of Edward III., reminding him that the English king, as Duke of Guienne, was himself a vassal of the French crown and a peer of France, and, as such, any act of hostility on his part could be branded as treason. When this appeal reached him, in October 1337, Earl Raynald dared not declare himself openly, and thus incur the anger of his powerful neighbour, which he was unable single-handed to resist, but he sent a temporizing reply pleading indisposition, and absence from his councillors, as reasons why he did not come to an immediate decision, and assuring the king, that although he had married and had children by a sister of the English monarch, he would not allow that alliance to influence his conduct in the impending contest¹.

A few more months proved to King Philip the fallacy of these protestations. No sooner had Edward III., with his queen, landed at Antwerp, in July 1338², than Raynald, accompanied by his countess, hastened to meet and welcome them³. The earl renounced in form his homage to Philip of Valois, to whom he had previously sent a message of haughty defiance, and took oaths of fealty and allegiance to Edward. As this, under existing circumstances, was a verbal renunciation of his French estates, which would of course be immediately forfeit to the French crown, Edward afterwards granted to Raynald an annual revenue of 1000*l.* sterling, in compensation for the sacrifice⁴.

A few months after his arrival in Brabant, the king

¹ Teulet, *Thesor des chartes, Inventaire*, vol. vii., p. 278, sect. 9. Unpublished.

² *Chron. St. Albans*, Lambeth MS., No. 6, fol. 49, col. 1.

³ *Wardrobe Book*, 12—16 Edw. III., Chapter House documents now in the Rolls House, A. v. 9. The king presented a cup and a water-bowl, silver-gilt, to the esquire of the Countess of Gueldres.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1090. See also Antwerp Patent Roll, 12 Edw. III., mm. 5, 2. German Roll, 12 E. III., m. 5. *Patentes inter regem et magnates Genn.*, 13 Edw. III., mm. 5, 7.

appointed Raynald, whom he styles "his very dear brother," his ambassador to Louis, Earl of Flanders, to negotiate a marriage between the eldest son of the earl and Edward's daughter Isabella¹. A grand assembly of German nobles was subsequently held at Malines, when Edward exhibited powers, lately received from the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, by which he was formally constituted vicar of the Germanic empire, and, as such, all the princes swore to obey him². During the king's brief sojourn in this city, he was received and entertained by the Earl and Countess of Gueldres, and that to their cost, for a fire broke out in one of his apartments, which did considerable damage³. Among the Cottonian MSS. is a letter, in a contemporaneous hand, from Raynald to Edward III., in which the earl, after lauding him to the skies, promises to be at his service any time with 2000 lances, and exhorts him not to let his lion's heart sleep, but to rouse himself to fresh attacks⁴.

The Earl of Gueldres was not entirely disinterested in the assistance he thus cheerfully rendered to the brother of his wife. He had long been ambitious to attain to higher rank among the German powers, and to encircle his brows with a ducal crown, instead of the coronet of an earl. Prompted by this desire, he eagerly promoted an alliance between his brother-in-law and the Emperor Louis, from whose fiat the coveted dignity was to be obtained⁵. He succeeded to the utmost of his desires. On the 19th of March, 1339, the emperor, in an assembly of dignitaries, created him Duke of Gueldres, with many

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1063, date Antwerp, Nov. 12.

² *Paris, cont.*, vol. ii., p. 257. *Klerk, Rymkronik*, p. 20.

³ *Wardrobe Book*, 12—16 Edw. III., ff. 200, 202.

⁴ *Cotton. MS.*, Titus, A. xix., fol. 99.

⁵ *Klerk, Rymkronick van den derden Edeward, Coninc van Engeland*, p. 17. This interesting chronicle was written about the year 1437, by a monk of Antwerp, and contains many valuable details of Edward's deeds while in Belgium. It has been recently published by Willems, 8vo., Gand, 1840.

privileges. He and his heirs were appointed to bear the imperial crown before the emperors on the day of their coronation. He was allowed the privilege of coining golden money, and, to add to the splendour of his domestic establishment, he was permitted to have four state officers: a steward, marshal, cup-bearer, and chamberlain¹. Two days afterwards he purchased from the emperor, for the sum of 40,000 silver marks, the sovereignty of the whole of East Friesland².

King Edward brought with him from Antwerp, his queen Philippa; and, during nearly two years, she resided principally on the continent, first at Antwerp, and then for some time longer at Ghent. She there received visits from her brother the Earl of Hainault, the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Gueldres³. The Duchess Eleanora accompanied her lord, and spent some time with her sister-in-law; thus the two royal ladies renewed the intimacy they had previously enjoyed whilst their lords were busily engaged on the arena of active warfare.

On the 8th of September, 1339, Edward and Raynald, who was the second leader in his host⁴, with the Duke of Brabant and other nobles⁵, left Antwerp, and marched through Hainault and Cambray. This latter place was doomed to a fierce attack from the Dukes of Gueldres and Brabant, who were commissioned for that purpose by the emperor⁶, but they failed in their task. The king hoped

¹ Baluzius, *Vitæ Paparum*, vol. i., p. 201.

² Miræus, *Donationes Belgicæ*, p. 283. Van Spaen, *Historie van Gelderland*, vol. i., p. 511. Though the date of the patent of dukedom is March 19th, yet Nyhoff, in his *Gedenkwaerdigheden van Gelderland*, vol. i., No. 349, quotes a diploma in which Raynald is called *duke*, dated March 15.

³ L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xiv., p. 219. Baluzius, *Vitæ Paparum*, vol. i., p. 202.

⁴ May's *Reign of Edward III.*, book 2.

⁵ Froissart, vol. i., p. 253.

⁶ Appendix to Klerk's *Rymkronik*. The date of the emperor's commission is Jan. 25, 1340. Amongst the Tower letters is a document,

to settle the dispute by a pitched battle; but though his troops at one time actually came in sight of the French army, headed by Philip in person, they were unable to provoke him to fight¹. This wearisome mode of warfare chafed the fiery spirit of the impatient Edward; and the following summer he sent his adversary a spirited challenge to end the dispute at once by a single combat. The seal appended to his letter bore the arms of France quartered with those of England. Philip opened the letter, gazed on the seal, and after a few moments of silent meditation², expressed himself in terms of sorrowful indignation, that, after having so long enjoyed his crown in peace, it should be so unjustly demanded from him by a daring usurper. He refused the request of his adversary, but promised to meet him on the field of battle, and that, perhaps, earlier than he might desire³. Happily

much torn and damaged, but relating seemingly to this period. It is a league formed between Edward III., the Emperor, the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, and the Earl of Holland, the principal confederates in the war against France. In it Edward assumes his title of Vicar of the Empire.

¹ On this occasion, Edward's men having seized one of the scouts of the French army, brought him before the king. After questioning him on different points relative to the number and disposition of the opposing force, Edward gave his prisoner a war-steed and a purse of gold, bidding him seek out his master, Philip of France, and tell him that he was weary of waiting from morn till noon, and challenged him to come out into the open field to an even-handed contest. Klerk, *Rymkronik*, p. 33.

² The scene is thus graphically portrayed by our rhyming chronicler:

“Philip merkte den segel wel
Met eenen ansichte steuer ende fel,
Ende sweech lange al stille;
Got wiste wel seinen wille.”
With a visage stern and fell
Philip marked that signet well,
And pondered long and silently,
God knows what his thoughts might be.”

Klerk, Rymkronik, p. 51.

A curious engraving of the scene occurs amongst the illustrations of Froissart's Chronicles.

³ Klerk, *Rymkronik*, pp. 26, 34.

a mediator arose in the person of Joanna of Valois, Countess of Hainault, the mother of Queen Philippa, and sister of Philip of Valois. A truce was proclaimed, and the Duke of Gueldres and other nobles were appointed to arrange the conditions of a peace¹. Many other evidences of the perfect agreement between the king and Duke Raynald are in existence. Edward interfered to procure him redress for any damage that, in the dusultory warfare, then so much practised, might be inflicted on his merchants by the capture of their vessels². The duke lent large sums of money to the king at different times, and became his guarantee to merchants for other sums³, for all which he was ultimately refunded⁴.

From the month of May 1342, a sudden pause occurs in the correspondence between the king and the duke. That a coolness had arisen between them, for which there was no foundation in any political dispute, is evident; the real cause seems to have been an estrangement which took place about this time between Raynald and Eleanor. A contemporary MS. chronicler⁵ tells us, that the usually fair and clear complexion of the princess had undergone a striking change, and had become recently very high-coloured; and some of those malicious slanderers who find a place in every court, began to whisper in the ear of Duke Raynald their surmisings, that his young wife was infected with a loathsome leprosy. Such effect had these insinuations upon him, that, seemingly without assigning to her any reason for his conduct, or even submitting the case to such medical inspection as might test

¹ Klerk, Appendix, No. VII., date June 20th, 1341. See also *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1191, date April 5, 1342. Gascon Roll, 15 E. III., m. 20.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 1055, 1082.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1069, 1105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1108, 1196. Patent Roll, 15 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 5. *Ibid.*, 16, pt. 2, m. 37.

⁵ Quoted in Pontanus, p. 241.

the truth or falsehood of this suspicion, he absented himself entirely from her company, and allotted her a separate abode, in another part of the city, at some distance from the ducal residence.

The conduct of Raynald is peculiarly unjustifiable, when it is remembered that to the brother of Eleanora he owed much of the dignity and consideration he already enjoyed; that she was the mother of his son and heir; that she had been a faithful and affectionate wife for more than eight years; and especially, that the disease of which she was suspected was of such a character that it would have been an easy matter to ascertain its presence or absence. It argues but little warmth of affection on the part of the duke that he allowed himself to be thus lightly estranged, and proves him to have been as deficient in the fulfilment of his conjugal, as he had previously shown himself in that of his filial duties.

Eleanora keenly felt the desolate abandonment of her situation; but with the meek uncomplainingness of her gentle character, she bore it long in silence. No passionate appeals to her brother, King Edward, to vindicate her cause, are recorded, although she had every reason to hope that such appeals would prove successful; and it seems certain that, whatever he might learn of her wrongs from other quarters, the king received no complaint from Eleanora herself. For some time she tried to soothe her solitary hours by the caresses of her children; but her heart was not thus to be cheated of the woe which weighed upon it, almost too heavily for endurance.

At length it began to be whispered that Raynald was projecting a divorce, and some expedient seemed necessary to avert the dreaded step. It does not appear that, amidst the whole court of her husband, the Duchess Eleanora had one friend daring and courageous enough to stand forth as

her champion, and at last she resolved to make an appeal to her lord in person. She selected a day on which a state convocation of the nobles was to be held in the palace, and where she knew her slanderers would be present. Attiring herself in a light tunic, over which she threw the ample folds of a mantle, she took her two young sons and presented herself with them at the palace. The duchess had long been a stranger within those stately gates, yet none presumed to refuse her admittance. Suddenly and unheralded, she showed herself in the council-hall; and, advancing towards the ducal chair where her husband sat as president, she flung aside her mantle, exposing as far as delicacy would permit, a fair and untainted skin, and bursting into tears, she thus addressed him, "Oh, my beloved lord, here am I, earnestly seeking a diligent examination in reference to the corporeal taint of which I am frivolously accused. Let it be seen whether I am subject to any loathsomeness or impurity. See these children, who are on either side of me; they are our sons, proving themselves yours by bearing their father's face and mind. I know well that this obstacle to our union has arisen from malicious calumny; but the hour may perchance arrive, when both you and the people of Gueldres shall bewail our divorce, when they see the failure of our line¹."

This appeal proved irresistible. The slumbering affection of Duke Raynald was rekindled by the tearful pleadings of his injured wife. He confessed that he had lent too ready an ear to her accusers, and a complete reconciliation took place between them. The nobles themselves, even those who had been most active in separating the husband and wife, repented of their conduct. But

¹ Berchenius, MS. Chronicle quoted by Pontanus, *Hist. Gelriæ*, p. 241. Schlichtenhorst, *Geldresse Geschiednissen*, pp. 129, 130. Teschenmacher, *Annales Gelriæ*, p. 513.

their penitence was deepened, some years afterwards, when the prophecy uttered by Eleanora, in her passionate grief, that there would be wanting a male heir to wear the ducal coronet of Gueldres, was fulfilled, and the dukedom passed to the Earl of Juliers, the son of one of his daughters¹. This coincidence is named by several Gueldres chroniclers, and appears to have led them to regard the memory of Eleanora with a sort of superstitious reverence.

After all, much unexplained mystery hangs over the temporary separation of Raynald and Eleanora. It seems probable that other motives than those named were at work. Possibly they might be of a political nature, and the enemies of Eleanora might be those nobles who inclined to the French party, and were therefore willing to adopt any measures which would draw away their lord from English influence. If Raynald had really believed the report that his wife was infected with a disease so loathsome and infectious, how are we to account for the fact, that he still permitted his two sons, the heirs of the dukedom, to continue in unrestrained intercourse with their mother?

During the short remainder of Eleanora's wedded life, she enjoyed much domestic happiness. The duke, at peace with foreign powers², had now the leisure to testify, by affectionate attentions, his sorrow for the part he had recently acted towards his wife.

Yielding to the religious bias of her mind, he associated with her in the erection of several monastic establishments; and, by his consent, and with his concurrence, she became the foundress of two extensive monasteries for friars of the Franciscan order, which she greatly patronized.³

¹ Anderson's Geneal., p. 590.

² Chron. Gelriæ, Middlehill MS., 1889, p. 84.

³ Teschenmacher, Annales Gelriæ, p. 515.

One was at the town of Harderwyck, and the other at Deventer¹. The duke and duchess were also occupied in forming another foundation for Carthusian monks, at Munchausen: this was intended by Raynald as an expiatory offering for the slaughter occasioned by his many wars, especially those in Friesland and Brabant, which, as waged more exclusively on his own behalf, weighed heavily on his mind², when his sudden death put a stop to all his earthly projects³. It took place at Arnheim, on the 12th of October, 1343, in consequence of an injury received from a fall⁴. He was much lamented by his subjects, to whom his military valour and the general ability and vigour of his administration had greatly endeared him⁵.

The place of his interment is a matter of dispute. Some assign it to the recently founded monastery of Munchausen, near Arnheim⁶, but the most probable opinion is, that he was laid to rest beside his parents in Gravenenthal, which had long been the burial-place of the ducal house of Gueldres⁷. An epitaph was composed for him, in which he was styled "the flower and glory of Gueldres," the very personification of valour, defender of his country, and lover of the laws⁸. He is said to have been charitable to the poor, a patron of literature, and especially a friend to the Muses; ⁹ but this probably refers to the latter period of his life, when he was more immediately under the gentle

¹ Teschenmacher, *Annales Gelriæ*, p. 515.

² Pontanus, p. 210. In a letter to the Earl of Holland, dated May the 6th, 1337, the Frisons speak in extreme terms of the barbarity exercised upon them by Raynald. They say that so terrible was his vengeance, that, were all their limbs turned into tongues, they would utterly fail to express the ravages, incendiaries, and murders committed upon them. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xiv., p. 289.

³ Pontanus, p. 237.

⁴ Teschenmacher, *Annales Gelriæ*, p. 514.

⁵ Aquilius, *Comp. Hist. Gelriæ*, p. 45.

⁶ *Mag. Chron. Belg.*, Pistorius.

⁷ Aquilius, *ut sup.* Miræus, *Chron. Belg.*, p. 303.

⁸ Pontanus, p. 238.

⁹ Anderson's *Geneal.*, p. 590.

influence of his duchess, rather than to the stormy scenes of his early career.

Eleanora was now left a widow, at the age of twenty-five. Her husband, as a mark of restored affection, made her executrix of his will, and joint guardian with Adolph, Earl of March, of her two sons. The eldest son, who succeeded his father under the title of Raynald III., was a boy of ten years of age, and his younger brother, Edward, only seven¹.

The delicacy and propriety which marked Eleanora's conduct during her widowed life, is noted with warm approbation by the Gueldres chroniclers². Respect for her character seems powerfully to have influenced the stormy spirits of the neighbouring potentates, who were usually too eager to seize on any opportunity of aggrandizing themselves at the expense of a defenceless state. But the people of Gueldres were well known to be brave, and warmly attached to their rulers; while the duchess, on her side, could look for defence to the strong arm of her brother, Edward of England. Thus aided, the hand of a woman, albeit unused to sway the sceptre, preserved the dominions of her son in integrity and peace. Occasionally, but not frequently, she was laid under the necessity of applying to her brother, and her applications, when made, were always successful³.

At one time, Eleanora was placed in difficulties, on account of the fraudulent conduct of two English merchants, Thomas de Toltham, of Coventry, and Thomas

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 156. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xiv., p. 289. Some writers suppose that Raynald's youngest daughter, Isabella, was the daughter of Eleanora; but this opinion is not supported by contemporaneous chroniclers. It arose perhaps from the maternal tenderness shown by the duchess to this step-child, who must have been very young when first placed under her protection, and whose religious tendency coincided with her own. She was, as before observed, dedicated to the cloister, and became Abbess of Gravenhal.

² Pontanus, p. 266.

³ Schlichtenhorst, *Geldresse Geschiednissen*, p. 135.

his son. It was the duty of these men to receive, from the attorneys of the duchess, resident in England, the sum of 1050 florins of gold, which were due from monies assigned by Edward to his late brother-in-law Duke Raynald, and by him bequeathed to his widow, for the support of their children. But instead of transmitting the money to Flanders, they had laid a fraudulent scheme, by which the lands of the duchess were alienated, and her goods placed in the hands of men who were sharers in their nefarious proceedings. She therefore appealed to the king, who immediately gave orders to a serjeant-at-arms to summon the two Thomases, father and son, to appear at court and answer to the complaints of the duchess, threatening them with the utmost rigour of the law, in case of refusal. After some delay, the matter seems to have been set to rights, for Eleanora's petitions in reference to it cease¹.

King Edward manifested a friendly disposition towards the young duke his nephew, and an earnest desire to keep up the kindly intercourse and alliance which he had so long held with Raynald II. A slight political misunderstanding threatened at one time to interrupt this harmony; but, on complaints being made, Edward issued a determined order against any injury or mischief being done to "his nephew the noble Duke of Gueldres, or to the most illustrious lady the Duchess of Gueldres, his sister," only with a proviso securing his own honour and rights².

In 1346, Eleanora sent the young Duke Raynald, then in his thirteenth year, to learn the art of war under his gallant uncle, who was engaged in a contest with France³.

With the childhood of her sons, Eleanora's days of tranquillity passed away. As they grew up to manhood, they manifested much of the ungovernable turbulence of spirit which had characterized the early life of their

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 156, 166.

² *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xiv., p. 289.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 160.

father. The anxious care of their widowed mother was repaid with ingratitude. They quarrelled first with each other, and then with her, when she remonstrated on their conduct, and finished by seizing her dower, and robbing her of almost all that she possessed¹. Two factions arose in the province, similar to those of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, which so long devastated Italy, and the two brothers were the leaders of the opposing parties. The younger, Edward, the more warlike and energetic of the two, was resolved that the dukedom, which had hitherto been the sole inheritance of the eldest son, should be shared between himself and his brother. After a long series of struggles, he succeeded, with the aid of his party, in taking Duke Raynald prisoner. By a singular ingenuity of cruelty, he was confined in the castle of Nieukerk, unfettered, and with the doors and windows of his apartment open, but made too small to permit of his exit, on account of his great corpulence². He was thus detained in tedious captivity for ten years, until, Edward himself being slain in battle in 1371, Raynald was released. But the inertness of a prison life had so increased his unhealthy corpulence, that it caused his death the very year of his release, having obtained for him the surname of Crassus, or the Fat³.

Neither of the brothers had any children, and, according to the prediction of Eleanora, a male heir was now wanting to the house of Gueldres. The dukedom, therefore, fell into the hands of the Earl of Juliers, the son of the younger daughter of Raynald II.

Eleanora did not live to see this period. She was reduced to such poverty, that she became mainly indebted for her subsistence to the gratitude of the monks of her convent at Harderwyck, who furnished her with occa-

¹ Chron. Gelriæ, Middlehill MS. 1889, ff. 85, 147.

² L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xiv., p. 289.

³ Chron. Gelriæ, fol. 85, ut sup. Anderson's Geneal., p. 590.

sional supplies¹. At length, worn and weary with the tumult of an existence rendered miserable by the unnatural conduct of her own children, she retired to her monastery at Deventer, there to end her days.

This entire relinquishment of public life seems to have wrought a favourable change in her affairs. She certainly had some funds placed at her disposal, with which she commenced another religious structure, a Cistercian convent, about a mile and a half from Malines, in a situation, called from its fertile beauty, *Rosenthal*, or the valley of the roses; but she was prevented by death from completing it². "She passed away," says our chronicler, "from the troublous sea of time to the quiet haven of eternity," on the 22nd of April, the vigils of the feast of St. George the Martyr, A.D. 1355, having survived her husband about twelve years.

Some writers have assigned Gravenenthal as the place of her interment, supposing that she was buried near her husband³, but it is improbable that her sons should give their neglected mother a public sepulture. It seems preferable, therefore, to adopt the testimony of other chroniclers, who inform us that she was interred, with great privacy, by her faithful monks and nuns, in the choir of the convent of Deventer⁴. Her tomb-stone, which in the last century was still in existence in the church of Deventer, bore but a single word, as inscription, eulogy, and epitaph, ELEANORA⁵.

The princess royal of England found a more fitting memorial of her rank and virtues in her own land. On the south side of the tomb of Queen Philippa, in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey,

¹ Schrassert, *Beschriving van Harderwick*, vol. ii., p. 15.

² *Voyage litter de deux Benedictins*, 4to., Paris, 1717, vol. ii., p. 204.

³ Teschenmacher, *Annales Gelriæ*, p. 515.

⁴ Chron. Gelriæ, Middlehill MS. 1889, fol. 115. Tractatus de Comitibus Gelriæ, Middlehill MS. 1889, fol. 131. ⁵ Pontanus, p. 266.

was placed her image, along with that of her husband, amongst those of her royal kindred, with which that stately monument was surrounded. The figures have long ago been defaced, but the escutcheons which perpetuate their proud dignity yet remain, as if in mockery of the greatness, the very effigies of which are now for ever lost¹.

¹ Brayley's Westminster Abbey, vol. ii., p. 97. The shield of the Duchess of Gueldres is the 5th in order. It bears, on a field, *or*, a lion rampant, crowned, double queue, impaling three lions passant guardant.

JOANNA,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF EDWARD II.

CHAPTER IV.

Birth—Proposed marriage with Infant of Arragon and John of Valois—Parliament of Northampton—Treaty of Marriage with David the Bruce—Nuptials at Berwick—Scotch raillery and English indignation—Joanna goes to Scotland—Death of Robert Bruce and succession of David—Friendly intercourse with England—Successful invasion of Edward Baliol—He proposes to marry Joanna—David refuses homage to England—Attacked by Edward III.—He and Joanna fly to France—Friendly reception by King Philip—Residence at Chateau Gaillard—David's Treaty with France—His early campaigns—Overthrow of Baliol—David and Joanna return to Scotland—Joyous reception—Joanna in Scotland—Truce with England—Jealousies of Scotch nobility—Invasion of England—Cruel ravages—Battle of Neville's Cross—Capture of David—Taken to the Tower—Joanna's sorrow—She endeavours to procure his release—Fails—Visits England—returns to Scotland—David embraces English interests—Sent to visit Scotland—Failure of negotiations for ransom—Joanna goes to England—Resides in Hertford Castle—Intercourse with her mother—David's worthless character—Treaty for his liberation renewed—Broken by the Scotch—Attack of Edward III. The "burnt Candlemass"—Baliol resigns the Crown—David at Berwick—Treaty concluded—David's life in England—Return of King and Queen to Scotland—Joanna visits England—David's mistress—The Queen leaves him, and comes to England—Joanna influences her brother in behalf of the Scots—David visits England—Joanna remains there—Murder of the King's mistress—Joanna refuses to return to Scotland—Her establishment at Hertford—Present at the marriage of the Black Prince—Her death—Character—Interment—David's second marriage—Attachment to England—Death.

OF the infancy of the Princess Joanna, little remains to be recorded that has not already been noticed in the preceding memoir, since she was the constant companion

of her elder sister, from the time of her birth, in the Tower of London, in the year 1321, until her early marriage¹.

Before she had completed her fourth year, her father sent a proposition for her union, with the eldest son of Alphonso, Infant of Arragon, and grandson of King James II., but the offer was not responded to. This might arise from a curious circumstance attending the application. King James was of infirm health; and, in those days when telegraphic despatches were unknown, and information was very tardily conveyed, King Edward and his council, fearful lest the death of James, and the succession of his son Alphonso, might occasion delay in the negotiation, sent two letters, one directed to James, and the other to Alphonso, as King of Arragon, in case he should, before the arrival of the ambassadors, have succeeded to the throne. But King James survived nearly two years, and as nothing is more distasteful to a monarch, than to be reminded of his successor, this circumstance, if it came to his knowledge, might influence him in his slighting rejection of the hand of the Lady Joanna for his grandson².

On the failure of this negotiation, the king sent over the Bishop of Winchester and one of the canons of York, on an embassy to Paris, to offer the princess to John, son of Philip, Count of Valois, and afterwards King of France; but changes in the political relationships between England and France frustrated their efforts³.

Some genealogists, misled by the circumstance that she was married several years before Eleanora, have named Joanna as the elder of the two daughters of Edward II.; but the authority of the king her father, who speaks of Eleanora as his first born daughter⁴, of the

¹ No chronicler mentions the date of her birth, but she is always spoken of as seven years old at the time of her marriage, in 1328.

² Patent Roll, 18 Edw. II., pt. 2, m. 22.

³ Germ. Roll, 18—19 Edw. II.

⁴ "*Antenata Nostra.*" *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 585.

wardrobe accounts, which invariably give the precedence to Eleanor, and of other contemporary records, proves, beyond a doubt, that Joanna was by several years the junior. This very fact probably decided the choice of her, as the bridal victim, to cement a dishonourable peace with Scotland; for, as the young king, Edward III., had but one brother, and as yet no child, the Princess Royal stood second in presumptive succession to the crown, and was therefore too important a personage to be so disposed of.

The political transactions which led to Joanna's marriage with David the Bruce are too well known to need more than a brief recapitulation. The feeble reign of Edward II. had given scope to the great abilities and patriotic daring of Robert the Bruce; and he, who had formerly been stigmatized as an outlaw and a rebel, was now recognized as legitimate sovereign of Scotland, and greeted with the enthusiastic homage of a liberated people. But the brave old king was sinking under the influence of a heavy malady, a leprosy, the result of a life of hardship and fatigue. His son and heir was an infant, whose baby hands were ill-fitted to hold the reins of government, and to repress the incessant hostilities of a powerful neighbour; and, therefore, to provide for the security of his country, by a solid peace with England, was the main point of policy with the Bruce. On the other hand, England had suffered much, and reaped little from her prolonged warfare with her poor and restless neighbours; and though the young king, burning with military ardour, was himself eager to continue the conflict, yet he was a minor in the hands of his mother and her minion Mortimer, who, for their own interests, were anxious to rid themselves of an expensive and troublesome war¹.

With such feelings on both sides, few difficulties were

¹ The first point in the formidable list of accusations subsequently made out against Mortimer was, that he had received from the Scots a

likely to arise. The negotiations assumed a definite form, early in the year 1328; when, at a parliament held in York, on the 1st of March, the principal items of the treaty were declared, as already concerted between commissioners of both countries, who had been convened for the purpose: and the Bishop of London, and other commissioners were sent into Scotland to complete the terms of alliance¹. These were published at Edinburgh on the 17th of March²; but, to give formality to the affair, another Parliament was summoned to meet at Northampton, by which the convention was confirmed in full. It was then finally determined to conclude a peace with the Scots, and to cement it by the union of the young heir of Scotland, Prince David, with the king's sister Joanna.

The unprincipled queen hesitated not to sacrifice her daughter to a treaty which, whilst it secured immediate advantage to herself and her paramour, was regarded with indignation by the majority of the English³, and spurned as dishonourable. And such indeed it was; since the recognition of Scotch independence, which it involved, was extorted, not from a generous conviction of justice on the part of the English, but from the weakness of their government, and was in direct opposition to the wishes of the monarch, and of a large proportion of the nobility³.

The principal stipulations of the treaty of Northampton bribe of 20,000*l.* to procure them a peace and this marriage-alliance. *Chron. Robert of Reading, Harl. MS. 685, fol. 280.* See also *Walsingham, Hist. Ang., p. 113.*

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 723, 725, 729.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 736.

³ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i., p. 469. "There was a peace made between the Scots and English, and Dame Johanna la Tour, sister to the king, was married to David Bruce, son to Robert Bruce. And at this time, the king, being young, and for lack of good counsel, gave up, by his broad seal, all his title that he had to Scotland; the which deed was after revoked. And for this act was Sir Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, taken by night in the castle of Nottingham, and sent to the Tower of London; and after, drawn and hanged, for that and other ill counsels."

were, on the part of the Scots, that their independence should be fully acknowledged; that their kingdom, defined according to the boundaries observed in the days of Alexander III., should remain to King Robert and his successors, "free and divided from the kingdom of England, without any subjection, right of service, claim or demand whatsoever;" that no person (excepting two or three, who were specified as exceptions) should be considered competent to hold lands in Scotland, without previously renouncing his homage in England;—a proviso made purposely to exclude the greater number of those English nobles, to whom grants had been made of conquered lands in Scotland¹;—and that all the charters and other documents bearing upon this important question, which had been seized by Edward I., should be restored. Among these documents was particularly named the celebrated Ragman Roll; an instrument containing an acknowledgment of English supremacy, given by the rival candidates for the crown, when they consented to submit their cause to the adjudication of Edward I.; and to which such of the Scotch nobles as had been prevailed upon to acknowledge the supremacy of England, had affixed their seals². The Scottish regalia, and a piece of the true cross of Christ, called by the Scots black-rood, and held in high value, as having belonged to their sainted Queen Margaret, were also to be restored, along with the celebrated Scone stone, on which, from time immemorial, the monarchs of Scotland had received their crown; but this latter it was found impossible to remove from Westminster Abbey, on account of the indignant opposition of the London populace³.

¹ Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i., p. 301.

² Chron. Lanercost, p. 261. Chron. St. Albans, Lambeth MS., No. 6, sub anno 1327.

³ Tytler's Scotland, vol. ii., p. 437. Chron. Lanercost, p. 261. A Wardrobe Account for 27 and 28 Edw. I., No. 2535, Queen's Remembrancer, contains a memorandum of payment for the costs of a certain

The English queen, on her side, obtained from King Robert, the promise of a payment of 30,000 marks, in compensation of the damages suffered by England during the recent wars; and also of a life-settlement of land, to the value of 2000 livres per annum, upon her daughter, the lands to be chosen before Ascension-day, in presence of English deputies, and to be situated in some "convenient place," all feudal dues, advowsons of churches, &c., to belong to the princess; but the advowsons of abbeys, priories, &c., to remain in the gift of the crown. On the other hand, an obligation, undertaken by King Robert in 1327, to pay in ten years the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling to England was annulled¹. In case of the death of Prince David, the queen agreed that her child should be married to the next male heir to the Scottish crown, whoever that might be; whilst David was pledged, in case of her death, to espouse some other lady nearly allied to the English king. But if, after the fulfilment of the marriage between David and Joanna, she should survive her husband, her dower was still secured to her, and she was to be permitted, without disturbance or hindrance, to remain in Scotland, or return to England, as she thought fit, unless she should become a widow when pregnant; in which case she could not be allowed to leave Scotland, without the consent of the king and nobles.

This convention was signed at Northampton, on May 4th, 1328, and the princess was to be delivered to the Scotch commissioners, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the 15th of July following². The condition so frequently

copper stand or chair, which the king commanded to be made for the stone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned, and which was found at Scone in 1296. This copper chair was afterwards changed for one of wood, "provided by Master Walter, the painter," and placed near the altar before St. Edward's shrine, in Westminster Abbey.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 741.

² Robertson's *Index to Scotch Records*, pp. 101, 102. *Fœdera*, v

appended to the marriage of royal infants, that the bride shall be permitted to remain with her parents until she have arrived at a suitable age, does not even seem to have been requested by Queen Isabella in behalf of her daughter. Little time remained for preparation; and, early in July, the queen-mother, accompanied by Mortimer, her son Prince John, and her two daughters, Earl Warren, the Bishops of Lincoln, Ely, and Norwich, and attended by a brilliant suite, set forth towards Berwick¹. Mortimer's train alone was composed of 180 knights properly caparisoned, and attended by esquires and yeomen².

It was intended that the young king, Edward III., should add to the dignity of this spectacle by his presence. His mother endeavoured to conquer his repugnance to witness what he considered a national humiliation, by appealing to his chivalric tastes. She arranged for a mock spearfight to take place at Berwick, and had six spears superbly painted for the use of the king, plainer ones for the pages of his chamber, and 360 more for other English combatants; but even this inducement did not prevail upon young Edward to join the party³. The illness of the gallant Bruce prevented him also from giving the queen the meeting at the border city, but he was represented by two commissioners, his long-trying and faithful friends, the Earls of Douglas and Murray⁴, who had charge of the young bridegroom, then in the fifth year of his age⁵. The bride was only two years older.

i., p. 740-2. *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. iii., p. 5. Ker's Bruce, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 526, 533. Otterbourne's Chron., Hearne's Edition, p. 114. Cont. Trivet, Harley MS. 688, f. 316.

¹ Chron. Lanercost, p. 261.

² Syke's Local Records, vol. i., p. 40.

³ Wardrobe Fragm., 2 Edw. III., Queen's Rem. Chron. Lanercost, p. 262.

⁴ Barbour's Bruce, p. 406.

⁵ He was born March 5th, 1324. *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. iii., p. 9. Ker's Robert the Bruce, vol. ii., p. 230.

The ceremony of betrothal was performed on Sunday, July 17th¹, with great magnificence, in presence of the whole English court², of the Scottish commissioners, and of a large assembly of Scottish nobles, who were as eager to vie with their former foes, in splendour of attire and chivalric parade, as they had so lately been in the sterner rivalry of the spear and sword. All of sumptuous pageant, and solemn pomp that ingenuity could devise was crowded into the entertainments which each party prepared for the other; but the show that occasioned the most general admiration was a procession of English knights, in shining armour, erect on their steel-clad steeds, which they rode with such perfect command that their stately forms, encased in glittering coats of mail, were almost as motionless as though they had been mail-clad statues. Several days were spent in festivities, and on July 22nd, the feast of St. Mary and St. Magdalen, the young bride was delivered over into the hands of the trusty earls; and, with her, the precious records which

¹ The dates assigned to the marriage are various. Gisborne's *Chronicle of Edward III.*, gives July 12th. *Cotton. MS., Nero D. ii., fol. 272.* Several other writers name St. Mary Magdalen's Day, July 22nd, but four independent, contemporaneous authorities—two French chronicles, written in the time of Edward III., *Cotton. MSS., Domitian x., f. 85.* and *Cleop. A. vii., f. 84,* *Chron. Lanercost, p. 261,* and the continuation of *Paris, p. 2502,* name "the Sunday before St. Margaret's Day," which Sunday fell that year on July 17th. Adam of Murimuth, *Cotton. MS. Cleop., A. xiv., f. 141 b., Chron. Lond.,* edited for the Camden Society by Aungier, p. 61, Balfour, vol. i., p. 102, and *Excerpta e Cronicis Scotiæ, p. 155,* printed for the Abbotsford Club, all name July 17th, and the coincidence of so many independent authorities adds strong confirmation to their testimony. The frequency with which July 22nd is named makes it probable that the latter day was the date of the resignation of the Lady Joanna into the hands of the Scotch, which was regarded as the completion of the ceremony.

² *Johnes' Froissart, vol. i., p. 78.* The Harleian MS. 115, fol. 6, contains rude coloured portraits of David and Joanna in their bridal costume, but they are of a much later date than that of the marriage, and consequently not to be relied on. The queen's attire is a blue robe, furred with ermine, and a crimson petticoat with the arms of England in front. In her right hand she holds a thistle, the national emblem of Scotland, and in her left the sceptre.

were only less valued¹. Joanna's nurse was now discharged on a yearly pension of 30*l.* from the royal exchequer².

Thus concluded a transaction which was regarded with derision by the Scots, with indignation by the English, and, by both parties, with a determination to break through the trammels of the peace, at the first convenient opportunity. Little cared they that the happiness of a young and innocent child was sacrificed to their political farce. The Scots, in contempt of the English, gave the little princess the *soubriquet* of "Joan-make-peace, because of the coward peace that was made³;" "and also," says Fabian, "to their more derision, they made divers truffs, rounds, and songs, of the which one is specially remembered; which rhyme was made by the Scots, principally for the deformity of clothing that, at those days, was used by Englishmen." That which struck the Scots as peculiarly fantastic was their hoods and coats, decorated in strange fashion with letters and flowers painted upon them, and also their long beards; and they composed a pasquinade, which, "in spite of Englishmen," was not only posted up at the door of one of the principal churches, but became so familiar a ditty, that Barbour says, "Young women, when they play, sing it among them ilk day." It is as follows:—

Long beards, heartless;
Gay coats, graceless;
Painted hoods, witless;
Maketh all England thriftless⁴.

¹ Chron. Lanercost, p. 261. Sykes' Records, vol. i., p. 40. Fordun's Scoticon. vol. i., p. 291. Balfour's Scotland, vol. i., p. 102. Cont. Trivet's Chron., by a monk of Bridlington, Harl. MS. 688, f. 317. Froissart's Chron., vol. i., p. 119. Avesbury's Edw. III., p. 7. Leland's Collect., vol. i., p. 476. Tytler's Scotland, vol. i., p. 409. Walsingham, p. 109.

² Pell Roll, 3 Edw. III., Easter.

³ Chronicle of London, edited by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 53. Chron. St. Albans, ut supra.

⁴ Chambers' Scottish Songs, vol. i., Introd. p. 7. Harl. MS., 266, f. 40.

The mirthfulness of the hardy Scotchmen affords abundant proof of their exultation of heart in the advantages they had obtained, from the weakness of their enemy. The manner in which the marriage is recorded by the chroniclers of the two countries presents a curious contrast. Barbour, the historian of Robert the Bruce¹, after recounting that the peace was to be sealed by the marriage

“Of the King Robert’s son, Davy,
That then but five years had scarcely,
And of dame Joan of the Tower,
That since was of full great valour,—
Sister she was to the young king,
That had England in governing,
That then of eld (*age*) had seven year”—

and detailing the surrender of “the monuments and letters,” and “all the claim that they might have unto Scotland in any manner;” not forgetting that

“King Robert, for the sore scathe,
That he to them of England
Had done in war with stalwart hand,
Full 20,000 pound shall pay
Of silver in good money.”—

a condition of which he seems proud, as proving the mischief that had been wrought by the “stalwart” Scotch,—goes on to record:

“And when near come was the day
That ordained for the wedding was,
The earl² and the lord of Douglas
Came to Berwick with mickle face (*preparation*);
And brought young Davy with them there;
And the queen and the Mortimer
On other part come were;
With great affair and royalty.
The young lady, of great beauty,
Thither they brought with rich affair;
The wedding have they made there,
With great feast and solemnity,
That men might mirth and gladship see.

¹ Pinkerton’s Barbour’s Bruce, vol. i., p. 157.

² Randolph, Earl of Murray, *the earl par excellence*.

For right great feast they made there,
 And English men and Scottish were
 Together in joy and solace
 Nae felony betwixt them was¹

Very different is the tone of the English historians. They speak of Joanna's marriage as "great abasement of all the royal blood of England, where she was born," inasmuch as it was contracted with "the son of Robert Bruce, that was a false tyrant and forsworn traitor; which arose, against his oath, against his liege lord, good King Edward with the long shanks, and made himself King of Scotland." "Alas! for that *demoiselle* was foul disparaged, against the will of all the brave baronage of England, and this was great pity. For after the time that Brute conquered this land, the which then was *ycleped* (called) Britain, after his own name, and *sith* it was and is called England, after the name of Engist², in all that time was the realm of Scotland holden of the crown of this land by fealty and homage."

"And therefore they *maun* be sorry, and so it is dread lest they be in everlasting sorrow, all that ordained that parliament at Northampton; for that through false council the king was falsely disinherited³." All the chroniclers eagerly exculpate the young monarch from any participation in this discreditable deed, which they ascribe solely to the queen and Mortimer.

The object of the Berwick meeting having been accom-

¹ Barbour's Robert the Bruce, Pinkerton's edit., vol. ii., p. 159.

² Chron. d'Ang., dep. Brute jusqu'au roi Edw. III., Cotton. MS., Cleop., D. iii., f. 171. Chron. Brute, Harl. MS. 4690, f. 72.

³ Chron. Brute, Harl. MS., 4690, f. 72. Chron. Dunst., Harl. MS., 24, f. 155. Gisborne's Chron., Edw. III., Cotton. MS., Nero, D. ii., f. 272. Chron. St. Albans, Lambeth MS., No. 6. A contemporary chronicler, Cotton. MS., Vitel., A. xx., f. 50 b., says that King Edward consented through *fear* of his mother and Mortimer. Another writer says, "the king was governed altogether by the said Mortimer; and, by the counsel of the said Mortimer, the king granted a charter to the Scots, and the tenour of that charter is unknown to the English men yet." Cotton. MS., Vitel., A. xvi., f. 156.

plished, the queen-mother and her train prepared for their departure. In a parting impulse of maternal tenderness, Queen Isabella heaped costly gifts upon her little daughter, as though by glittering gems and gorgeous attire she could atone for the wrong she had inflicted, or fill the void in the heart of a child whose every early tie was thus rudely severed.

“The queen has left her daughter there
With great riches and royal fare;
I trow that long while no lady
Was given to house so richly,
And the earl and the Lord Douglas
Her in dainty (*daintily*) received has,
As it was worthy sickerly (*surely*),
For she was aye the best lady,
And the fairest that men might see¹.”

The queen was accompanied a short distance on her homeward route by the Scottish commissioners and their young charge, and most of the nobility; when, after a courteous leave-taking, they returned to Berwick, and then hastened their northward march to Edinburgh, to report their success, and deliver the young princess into the care of King Robert, who was anxiously awaiting them. If Joanna had felt partially reassured by the “dainty” reception she met with from the warrior-companions of the king, that given to her by the Bruce himself was still more calculated to soothe her, for he gave her “fair welcoming,” and provided, with fatherly tenderness, for her comforts².

Her brother's commissioners, Sir Roger Manduyt and Robert de Tughale, had already been put in possession, on her behalf, of her dower lands³, so that an income more than sufficient for her wants, was awaiting her.

¹ Barbour's Bruce, p. 408.

² Ibid. Tytler, vol. i., p. 410.

³ Ker's Robert the Bruce, vol. ii., p. 467. Pell Roll, 2 Edw. III., Easter. Patent Roll, 2 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 2. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i., p. 390.

But the warrior-king felt that he must soon succumb to a mightier monarch, for the hand of death was upon him. Anxious, before his decease, to confirm the settlement of the kingdom, he summoned a parliament, which he attended in person, with all his court, and presented his young son and daughter-in-law to the assembled nobles, before whom they were both crowned. Oaths of fealty were sworn to Prince David as heir to the crown, with much stately formality; the regency was settled on the good Earl Randolph during the minority of David¹, and the tutorship and personal guardianship of the prince was bestowed upon a Scotchman of noble family, named Sir Simon Fraser².

This was in the year 1329. Immediately afterwards the royal family retired to the little castle of Cardross, on the eastern banks of the Clyde, where, the health of the king declining apace, he dictated a judicious and affectionate letter to his young son, to be delivered to him when he should be able to profit by its precepts³.

His decease, which took place on the 7th of June of the same year, elevated David and Joanna to the precarious and peril-fraught dignity of King and Queen of Scotland⁴. As they had been already crowned, and were

¹ This was not the first act of homage received by the young prince. As early as 1326, when he was scarcely two years old, the estates had sworn fealty to him and his heirs, and, failing these, to Robert, son of Walter the Steward, and Marjory his wife, eldest daughter of Robert the Bruce by his first queen. *Balfour's Scotland*, vol. i., p. 102. *Boethius*, p. 116 b. *Excerpta e Cronica Scotiae*, p. 153, printed for the Abbotsford Club.

² Barbour's Bruce, p. 408.

³ Froissart, vol. i., p. 359.

⁴ *Liber Sanctae Mariæ de Melros*, printed for the Bannatyne Club, vol. ii., p. 329. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 264. *Monum. Vetusta*, vol. iii., p. 9. *Fordun*, vol. ii., p. 292. The seal of King David, which from the juvenility of the face, as there depicted, was probably cast at this time, characteristically represents him as seated on a stool formed from four knotted serpents, in lieu of a throne, and without the orb of sovereignty. *Anderson's Diplom. Scot.*, No. 53.

still so young, their formal inauguration did not take place till two years subsequently, when, on the 24th of November, 1331, they were solemnly crowned and also anointed—the first time that part of regal ceremonial had been performed in Scotland—according to the injunctions of a papal bull, sent expressly on the subject¹. The public proclamation of their styles and titles was accompanied with a declaration that the right of the young king and his father to the crown was that of conquest and not of inheritance²; a singular, but probably judicious, procedure, in a case where there had been so many competitors on the ground of hereditary right; where the laws of succession were imperfectly settled, and still more imperfectly understood; and where others had hereditary pretensions at least as strong as the family of Bruce. A brilliant court assembled to witness the ceremony, and James, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was the officiating prelate³.

The young king's first exercise of royal prerogative was to bestow the rank of knighthood on the Earl of Angus, Thomas, son of the regent Randolph, and many other young noblemen, whose station or deeds entitled them to the honours which they gracefully consented to receive from his childish hands⁴.

Before this period, the regal power of England had devolved, really as well as nominally, into the hands of Edward III., on the deposition of his mother from the regency, and the execution of her minion, Mortimer.

¹ *Excerpta e Cron. Scotiæ*, p. 159. *Walsingham*, p. 112. *Chron. Ang. ad Edw. III.*, Cotton. MS., Vesp., E. ix., fol. 816.

² *Chron. Lanerc.*, p. 264. *Baud's Buchanan*, vol. i., p. 373. *Boethius*, p. 116 b.

³ *Wyntown's Chronicle*, vol. ii., p. 137. *Macpherson's edition of Hardyng's Chron.*, p. 313. *Gisborne's Chron.*, ut supra, f. 272 b. *Stevenson's Illustrations of Scottish History*, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 139.

⁴ *Balfour's Scotland*, vol. i., p. 104. *Fordun*, vol. iii., p. 302.

Still no change took place in the policy pursued towards Scotland. The Record Rolls of 1330 and 1331 bear witness to a friendly correspondence carried on between the two countries. The 30,000 marks which King Robert had, by the marriage treaty, agreed to pay in annual instalments, afterwards commuted to half-yearly payments of 5000 marks, were punctually discharged by the Scotch regent¹, and the last payment was acknowledged by a receipt in full, dated December 20th, 1330². As late as the 12th of April, 1331, Edward III. wrote to the sheriff of Lincoln that, although he had previously ordered no corn to be exported, "yet, wishing to show special favour to the magnificent Prince David, King of Scotland, his very dear brother," he granted him leave to purchase, by his servants, a quantity of corn and malt, and export it to Scotland for the use of his household³.

But, previously to this, the latent seeds of discontent had taken root, and they now began to shoot up and ripen into bitter fruit. The pretext for a breach of the lately concluded peace was an alleged failure on the part of the Scots to fulfil that portion of the treaty which stipulated that a few of the English nobles should still be allowed to retain possession of conquered lands in Scotland, granted to them by Edward I. This article, which had been agreed to by King Robert, from the fear that contradiction might rouse the personal opposition of the powerful nobles whose interests were at stake, and thwart the whole plan of pacification, was certain to prove distasteful to the Scotch, who could not brook to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 763, 769, 714. Close Roll, 3 Edw. III., m. 7, dorse. Ibid., 5 pt. 1, m. 19 dorse.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 804.

³ Ibid., p. 815. Close Roll, 5 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 17, dorse. The tale recorded by Boethius, p. 119 b., that Edward III. contrived to poison Randall, the tutor of David, by means of a monk, who pretended to cure him of the gravel, is too much in opposition to the general character of that monarch to deserve credence.

witness, in the residence of the hated strangers among them, a lingering token of their past degradation. For some time King Edward contented himself with sending pacific letters, requesting, and then demanding, the restitution of the lands thus withheld¹. The Queen of Scotland was his own sister, and although he had disapproved of the treaty, he had nevertheless sworn to obey it: on these grounds he scrupled to break his oath, and rush into open warfare with a brother-in-law who was too weak to defend himself. But the deprived nobles themselves were less scrupulous. The Lords Wake and Beaumont, the chief of those whose possessions were withheld, invited Edward Baliol, son of the mock king, John Baliol, to come over from Normandy and join them; and although King Edward refused him a passage through England, urging his own close relationship to King David as his reason², and issued a royal proclamation prohibiting the gathering of forces and invasion of the borders, yet they assembled a small fleet and army on the banks of the Humber, landed at Kinghorn, and in a few days gained the battle of Duplin Moor, which was productive of the most serious results to the young Bruce and his queen. The young king had recently lost his ablest friend, in the Regent Murray, who died July 1332. The Lord James Douglas had been slain whilst fulfilling his royal master's last command, to carry his heart to the Holy Land. Donald, Earl of Mar, who succeeded to the regency, was unequal to the exigencies of the times; and in spite of his efforts and those of the Earl of March, Edward Baliol was crowned King of Scotland, on the 24th of September, 1332, after a campaign of only seven or eight weeks³.

In this distress, King David, or rather his guardian in

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 804, 806, 809, 824. Close Roll, 5 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 22 dorse.

² Chron. Brute, Lambeth MS., 99, fol. 47, col. 2.

³ Boethius, p. 121.

his name, appealed to Edward III., entreating him, for the sake of his sister, to interfere in his behalf¹. Baliol, on the other hand, sent a deputation to his young rival, pledging himself, if he would renounce his right to the crown, to confirm to him, in full, all the hereditary dignities and estates possessed by his father and grandfather; and offering him a safe-conduct, either to visit his own mock court, or to remain in any part of Scotland, whichever he might prefer². These terms were indignantly rejected by David's council, upon which Baliol applied to King Edward, and offered himself to marry the Princess Joanna, if she would consent to the dissolution of her union with the young Bruce, and to increase her already promised dower by the addition of 500 livres a-year; or if she declined to marry him, he engaged to pay 10,000*l.* sterling for her portion, should she marry elsewhere, or as provision for her estate, if unmarried³. The king at first hesitated. He sent Sir William de Choiseul over to Scotland, to see which way the temper of the people inclined, and what course would be most profitable to the English interest⁴. The result was the adoption of a neutral policy. He refused to aid the cause of his young brother-in-law, alleging that his nobles had been deprived of their just inheritance; and he also withheld assistance from Baliol, who, by a change of fortune almost as rapid as had been his elevation, was surprised and defeated by the loyal Scotch, and compelled, in December, to fly into England.

King Edward received him in a friendly manner; upon which the irritated Scots, unrestrained by the formalities of a peace which they considered to have been broken, at least in spirit, gave scope to their vehement passions, by

¹ Gray's *Scalachronica*, published for the Maitland Club, p. 161.

² *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 275-6.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 848.

⁴ *Excerpta*, from the Pell Rolls, by F. Devon, Esq., p. 143.

making frequent and destructive inroads upon the borders. Edward now declared that the Scots had broken the treaty. Baliol plied him with entreaties for aid, promising to hold Scotland from him as a fief, if restored by his agency; and, thus allured, the king no longer wavered. But, in order to give a semblance of justice to his proceedings, before he committed any overt breach of peace, he sent ambassadors to his brother-in-law, demanding the restoration of Berwick, and feudal homage for the whole realm of Scotland. King David, though a mere boy, was early habituated to the externals of royalty, and he received the embassy in person, and replied in a speech which it must have cost him some pains to learn: the purport of it was, that he and his barons greatly marvelled at the claim preferred by King Edward; that neither his father nor any of his ancestors had acknowledged any subjection to England, nor would he consent to do it; and as for Berwick, it had been won and kept by his father, King Robert, and he meant to keep it; and he trusted that the king, whose sister he had married, would not attempt to interfere with his liberties; "for," said he, "if any other prince should wish to do us wrong, he ought to aid and defend us, from the love he must bear to his sister, our queen." The ambassadors retired with a promise faithfully to report this reply to King Edward¹.

The result was as might have been anticipated. In the spring of 1333, Edward assembled a large army, and marched into Scotland. In prospect of this invasion, the young king and queen had been secretly conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton,—one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom,—the commanding and almost insular situa-

¹ Froissart, vol. i., p. 96. A forged charter of David the Bruce, acknowledging the right of homage to King Edward, is proved to be false, not only by its inconsistency with the above statements, but by its date. Nov. 1st, anno regno 5°, which would be 1334, when David was in France! *Cotton. MS., Calig., B. v., f. 66 b.*

tion of which, on an angle of land formed by the Leven and the Clyde, with its proximity to the sea, rendered it equally strong for a defence, or convenient for an escape. Here they were confided to the keeping of Sir Malcolm Fleming, the trusty governor¹.

The course of events proved the wisdom of this precaution, for the rapidity of the English conquests more than justified the worst fears that had been previously entertained². In this stronghold a few trusty friends assembled to deliberate upon the best steps to be taken in the emergency; and, as the personal safety of the young monarch was of the utmost importance to the cause, they determined that he and his queen should be privately transported into France; "for," says our chronicler, "still one trick or other was in hand to put him off the way, since his years was not fit for government³;" an expression which implies that domestic treachery, as well as foreign violence, was apprehended.

Meanwhile, the faithful Sir Malcolm Fleming had provided for any possible contingency, by preparing a beautiful vessel, which was moored in the Clyde, and fitted up with every requisite. Sir Archibald Douglas, the last appointed regent, having fallen in the recent battle⁴, Sir Andrew Murray was established governor of the realm; and, at his suggestion, the king and queen, under the escort of Sir Malcolm, and accompanied by another faithful attendant, a foster-brother of the king, called Rankin Moore, and a small suite, hastily embarked on board the waiting vessel, and sailed for France⁵. Their escape was accomplished only just in time to save them

¹ Chron. Lanercost, p. 276. Gray's Scalachronica, p. 164.

² In a comparatively short time the Bruce party only retained five fortresses throughout the whole of Scotland.

³ Balfour's Scotland, vol. i., p. 104. Sauvage Denis, Chron. de Flandres, pp. 140, 141.

⁴ Gray's Scalachronica, p. 163.

⁵ Fœdera, vol. ii., p. 307. Excerpt. e Cron. Scot., p. 161.

from capture; for, in a short time, Dumbarton castle was besieged and taken¹, the Scotch army almost annihilated at the battle of Halidon Hill, and Edward III. became master of the town of Berwick² and greater part of the kingdom³.

Meanwhile, after a tedious voyage, the king and queen of Scots landed at Boulogne, and went on direct to Paris, where they were received with great tenderness and hospitality by King Philip VI⁴. Not that a young throneless king of nine years old, or his juvenile queen of little more than eleven, could be, in themselves, attractive companions to Philip of Valois; but he saw in the king of Scots, and still more in his English wife, powerful aids in working out his own schemes, or rather in thwarting those of his rival, Edward of England. Brilliant festivities, unknown to the rugged court of Scotland, were prepared to amuse these crowned children, and to impress their susceptible hearts with a sense of the kindness lavished upon them⁵.

Instructed by his attendants, David himself, in a touching harangue, informed the French king of the extremity to which he had been reduced, before he thus threw himself upon his hospitality, and begged his help and advice. These the king cordially promised to grant, and engaged to furnish him with money for his expenses, on one only condition; viz., that David would never make peace with England, without his consent. To this the delighted boy gladly agreed; upon which a handsome pension, amply sufficient to maintain his regal dignity, was conferred upon him⁶. The rhyming chronicler, Wyntown, after detailing these circumstances, quaintly adds—

¹ Froissart, vol. i., p. 100.

² Close Roll, 7 Edw. III., pt. 1, memb. 19 dorse. *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 310.

³ Close Roll, ut sup., mm. 18 dorse, 4 dorse.

⁴ Boethius, p. 121.

⁵ Choisy, *Hist. de Philippe de Valois*, 4to., Paris, 1690, p. 96.

⁶ Froissart's *Chron.*, vol. i., p. 130. Choisy, *Hist. de France*, vol. ii., p. 109. *Chron. de Flandres*, p. 141. Balfour's *Scotland*, vol. i., p. 105.

“Methinks all Scottish men should be
Holden greatly to that king,
That *their* king, when that he was young,
And set at so great distress
That sent out, of his land he was,
He received him honestly
And treated him right courteously¹.”

In a short time it was deemed expedient that a separate residence should be assigned to the king and queen of Scotland, and the royal Château Gaillard, in Normandy, was fixed upon and prepared for their reception². This fortress, situated on an immense rock, near the little town of Andely, was built by Richard Cœur de Lion, in defiance of an express agreement into which he had entered with Philip Augustus of France, that Andely should not be fortified. It was of great strength, surrounded by lofty walls, and moats dug out of the solid rock. In the time of King John, Philip Augustus besieged it, and, after an obstinate defence on the part of the English, took possession of the place. Considerable portions of its majestic ruins still remain, and form a picturesque object³. This ancient structure was but of gloomy repute. It had recently been employed rather as a prison than a palace. Here Louis X. had first imprisoned, and then strangled his beautiful but guilty queen, Margaret of Burgundy; and Blanche of Burgundy, the no less criminal wife of the late monarch, Charles le Bel, had been detained for nine years a pining captive within its walls⁴.

The warm-hearted Scots recognized, with many expressions of gratitude, the kindness of Philip towards their youthful sovereign. But though David's own party still

¹ Macpherson's edition, vol. ii., p. 246.

² Chron. Hangis, cont. vol. iii., p. 105.

³ Licquet, Hist. de Rouen and de Château Gaillard, 12mo., Rouen, 1836.

⁴ Froissart, vol. i., p. 120. Queens of France, by Mrs. Forbes Bush, vol. i., pp. 191, 192.

clung to him with fond devotion, and fought long and bravely in his cause, which had become identified with that of their country, they could do little towards his support; all their funds being needed for the prosecution of the war. The supplies received from Scotland were small and scanty; but the generosity of their princely patron left David and Joanna nothing to wish for on that score¹. In one point, however, he took advantage of the dependent weakness of his guests. He obtained from David a promise to hold Scotland as a fief of France, and to pay feudal homage to the French sovereigns for its possession, in case he should be reinstated in his throne by the interference of French arms; but the word of a minor king, pledged under such circumstances, and without the concurrence of the regency or estates of the kingdom, was of little weight².

The French monarch was well aware that his espousing the cause of a young dethroned king lent a prestige of chivalrous generosity to his contest with England; whilst, on the other hand, King Edward was equally conscious that, in combating the husband of his young sister, he laid himself open to a reproach, which he vainly endeavoured to throw off, by sending a remonstrance to his brother-in-law, on his encouragement of the French interest, when close consanguinity ought rather to have induced him to adhere to that of the English³. A few months later, in the summer of 1335, when his victorious arms had reduced the greatest part of Scotland into subjection to his vassal Baliol, King Edward sent a deputation to the young Bruce, inviting him and Joanna to come over to England, against the ensuing Parliament,

¹ Sauvage Denis, *Chron. de Flandres*, p. 141. Gray's *Scalachronica*, p. 164. Froissart, vol. i., p. 359.

² *Chron. Ang.*, Cotton. MS., Tiberius, A. vi., f. 204 b. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 283.

³ Knighton, col. 2568, Twysden's *Scriptores*.

appointed to meet at Michaelmas, where many of the Scotch nobility had engaged to be present; and he proposed that the dethroned king and queen should take up their abode in England, until the death of Baliol, when they should be restored to their former dignity. But this pacific overture, so contrary to the interests of France, was rejected by the influence of King Philip¹. Several attempts at negotiation took place during the two succeeding years, in all which King Edward gave no higher title to the Scotch king than that of "David the Bruce;" but the combined diplomacy of France and England and Scotland failed in arranging a pacification between parties whose interests were so conflicting².

The lapse of a few more years changed the theatre of war. It was no longer Scotland, but France itself, that was threatened by the restless ambition of Edward III.; and then it was that King David, for the first time, united in a personal opposition against his wife's brother. His first campaign, if such it may be called, was served under the banners of King Philip, in 1339, when four kings, those of France, Scotland, Navarre, and Bohemia, were present in the French camp; but the crowned heads little availed their ally, for the season terminated, after a few skirmishes, without any decisive conflict³. In 1341 King David again appeared at the siege of Tournay, attended by a splendid suite of men-at-arms, provided for him at the expense of King Philip; but no instance of military prowess is recorded of him⁴.

In the meantime, affairs in Scotland were tending to a revolution in favour of the exiled king. During the early years of David's residence in France, the vigorous arm of

¹ Cont. Paris, vol. ii., p. 2567. Knighton, ut sup.

² Fœdera, vol. ii., pp. 942, 945, 1001. Patent Roll, 10 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 38.

³ Froissart, vol. i., p. 154.

⁴ Ibid., p. 364.

the English king succeeded in maintaining Edward Baliol in nominal possession of his vassal-throne. But his subserviency in performing homage to Edward, and in surrendering to him the full possession of all the border counties of Scotland, so exasperated his countrymen against him, that nothing less than the pressure of a foreign force could induce even temporary submission¹. Agents sent over by King Philip were ever at hand to foment the general discontent; and when King Edward was compelled, by his French war, to withdraw his troops from the north, the restless Scotch threw off the hated yoke of Baliol, and compelled him to fly to England for safety. In the course of a few years the party of the Bruce had so far gained the ascendancy that they became anxious for the return of their young king and queen, and sent over an embassy, headed by Simon Fraser, David's former tutor, to France, to solicit the consent of King Philip². Before their arrival, however, David had heard of the rallying condition of his party in Scotland; and wearied, probably, of the mock kingship he had so long enacted, and anxious to exchange the semblance for the reality of power, he had

¹ That lover of traditional lore, Sir Walter Scott, records, in his *History of Scotland*, that if, at this juncture, an aged Scotchman were interrogated as to the name of his rightful sovereign, his prudence would lead him to answer Baliol; but if the same question were proposed to a child, the reply spontaneously given by its simple fearlessness would as certainly be "King David the Bruce," a plain proof on which side early association and training were likely to enlist the youth of the country.

² Froissart says that the Scots, weary of their long contests with England, and embarrassed by a fresh attack from Edward, requested a truce till the 1st of May of the same year, 1341, pledging themselves that if their young king, for whom they were sending, did not arrive within that time, with a force sufficient to assist them effectually, they would give up the hopeless conflict and submit to England. This view of the subject, however, is not borne out by contemporary historians, and it probably originated in the anxiety of the chronicler to make it appear that David was indebted to French interference for restoration to his throne, rather than to the gallant, and almost unaided, efforts of his brave countrymen, as was really the case. See vol. i., pp. 280, 281.

paid a visit to the French court, and requested permission to return to his own country. King Philip cheerfully complied with his wishes, and prepared to dismiss his guest, not only with the honour due to his rank, but with an equipment of vessels and troops formidable enough to resist any attempt at interception on the part of the English during his voyage, and to aid in his complete restoration to his kingdom¹. The preceding year had witnessed a severe defeat of the French fleet by that of the English, at Helvoetsluys; and in apprehension of the result of a fresh naval encounter, it was thought advisable to employ stratagem to secure the safety of the Scottish king and queen. Shipwrights were, therefore, ostentatiously set to work, at Harfleur and other ports, to prepare a fleet of 2,300 vessels, as if to escort the young king, 300 of which were to be men-of-war; all the tailors of Paris were employed for nearly sixteen weeks, in embroidering banners for the expedition²; but in the meantime, David and his queen, with their suite, secretly set sail from another port, in only two vessels, accompanied by a few of the French and Scotch nobility, and under the guidance of a Flemish mariner; and, unexpected alike by friend or foe, landed on the 2nd of June, 1341, at the small harbour of Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire.

The enthusiasm of the Scots, when they learned that their young monarch, the son of their idolized Bruce, the polar star of their hopes through many an hour of gloom and despondency, had at last landed in his own kingdom again, knew no bounds³. They flocked in crowds to welcome him; nobles and populace vied with each other as to which should testify the greater delight;

¹ Froissart, vol. i., p. 281.

² Illustrations Scot. Hist., Maitland Club, pp. 57, 58.

³ Ibid, pp. 56, et seq. Baud's Buchanan, vol. i., p. 371. Froissart, vol. ii., pp. 44, 45. Balfour's Scotland, vol. i., p. 145.

and they attended the king and queen in triumph to Perth castle, where, in abundant feasts and wild revels, they gave fresh vent to their exultation¹.

King David, at this time, was just entering upon his eighteenth year. In person, he was tall and comely, well skilled in martial exercises, and of intrepid bravery; but he was wanting in capacity to govern, and his French education had initiated him into many youthful tastes and follies, the indulgence of which proved very injurious to his interests. The chronicler Wyntown thus refers to the circumstances of his return, and his character at the time²:

‘ The lords this time of Scotland
Thought it was good to take on hand
To send after their king Davy,
That dwelling then was in Normandy;
Since the most part of his land
Was won out of his foe’s hand.
They sent him word then, o’er the sea,
And after soon him *bound* (ready) made he³,
And at the king of France has ta’en
His leave, and to the sea is gone.
With two ships privily,
He arrived at Bervie⁴.
The queen Joan with him brought he;
Then blyth was all his commonalty;
They him received with blytheness.
Well waxen up that time he was,

¹ Excerpta e Cron. Scot., p. 177, Abbotsford Club. Fordun, vol. ii., p. 334. Boethius, p. 125 b. Choisy, Hist. de France, vol. ii., p. 109. Froissart, ut sup. This latter chronicler evidently writes from the testimony of an eye-witness, probably some French attendant, who had sailed with King David, for he records the abundance of salmon found at Perth, for which the Tay is still so celebrated, and other circumstances not likely to be related except by personal testimony.

² Macpherson’s edit., vol. ii., p. 250.

³ Our rhymer avails himself of poetic licence in representing the return of David to have taken place on account of the embassy sent to France; but the mistake is also made by other writers, and is not surprising, for the dispatch of the Scottish ambassadors and the arrival of David were so nearly contemporaneous, that, unless contradicted by an exact reference to dates, the latter might well be considered the result of the former.

⁴ Inverbervie, frequently contracted to Bervie.

And thoughtless then for his youth-head.
 To that nature would him lead.
 Jousting, dancing, and playing,
 He loved well, for he was young;
 And with such games *solacand* (solacing)
 He rode off blythely through his land¹."

We have no distant record of the tone of popular feeling in Scotland, at this time, in reference to the English-born queen; though we are told that

"She was sweet and *debonnaire*,
 Courteous, homely, pleasant, and fair²."

It would seem probable that, since she had left England in childhood, and, from that time, had been constantly surrounded by Scottish and French associations and interests; since, moreover, her brother had broken through the ties of kindred-love, had treated her husband as his sworn foe, and even endeavoured to place a rival on his throne, the Scots would regard her rather as the faithful consort of their sovereign, than as the sister of their potent enemy. "Joan-make-peace," as she had been tauntingly called, did not verify her *sobriquet*, for she appears never to have exercised any restraining influence over the military ardour of her husband and his adherents, when directed against her native land.

The paucity of domestic records of Scotland gives us little insight into the details of the court, or the private habits of the queen. We may presume that her principal companions would be the half-sister of her husband, Marjory, widow of Walter Stuart, and his three sisters, who, though much older than herself, would naturally occupy the chief offices about their young queen.

A few months sufficed to establish the restored sovereign firmly upon the throne; so firmly, that King Edward, occupied with his schemes of French conquest, and annoyed by a rapid incursion, mischievous, because

¹ Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 289.

² Ibid., p. 288.

unresisted, which young David, with a stalwart band of 40,000 followers, made into the border counties, was anxious to come to terms with the Scots¹. He offered to relinquish Berwick, which he had taken during the war, and still retained, and to abandon the cause of Baliol, if a permanent peace could be secured. But these terms were refused by David, whose French inclinations forbade his thus compromising the cause of his friend; and Edward was obliged to content himself with a truce², which was prolonged, from time to time, until the year 1344³.

Freed from the encumbrance of foreign warfare, the youthful monarchs, after a nominal reign of more than twelve years, were now, for the first time, put into the possession of regal authority, by the resignation of the regent, Robert, high steward of Scotland, grandson of Robert the Bruce, whose position, as heir presumptive to the kingdom, on the failure of issue of the yet childless king, was considered to disqualify him for the exercise of the vice-regal office. The young king soon discovered that graver employments than "jousting, dancing, playing, gaming, and riding blythely through his land," awaited him. He and his queen found themselves surrounded with men of very different mould from the courtier-like Frenchmen whom they had left behind at the Château Gaillard,

¹ Wyntown's Chron., vol. ii., p. 247. This writer, Scotchman though he was, had the candour to speak of this *raid* as ineffective. He says:

"But to say truth of that raid,
None adventure *fell* (befell) them of fighting,
That men should make of great meaning,
But, *bout tynsel* (without loss), his men and he
Repaired home to their countrie."

On the other hand, the English chronicler of Lanercost, whose border residence qualified him to be a more competent authority for what transpired in his own locality, says that David ravaged the whole country north of the Tyne, and returned home without having encountered any resistance. His account is confirmed by Knighton, col. 2580.

² Boethius, f. 127 b.

³ Fœdera, vol. ii., pp. 1189, 1191, &c.

or in the court of Philip de Valois. The nobles, who had won back the realm for their king, expected to share it with him; and to this the grateful prince did not object¹, provided they could agree among themselves, as to their several shares in the partition. But here rested the main point of difficulty. No sooner was that external pressure withdrawn, which rendered their union a matter of national life or death, than the restless nobles renewed those internal feuds and jealousies which had reduced the kingdom to the brink of ruin; and weak indeed proved the arm of the pleasure-loving Bruce, in any attempt to restrain them. He had formed an attachment to one among their number, Sir Alexander Ramsay, who had distinguished himself by his bravery against the English, on whom he bestowed the governorship of Roxburgh castle and the lieutenancy of Teviotdale. This was disapproved by Sir William Douglas, knight of Liddesdale,—eldest natural son of the good Sir James Douglas,—who himself pretended to have a claim on these dignities: he surprised, and seized the unfortunate Ramsay, and the result of his monarch's favour was, that the wretched young nobleman was starved to death in the castle of his foe, after having prolonged a life of agonizing suspense for several weeks, by eating the grains of corn which accidentally dropped into his prison from a granary above². Such an act of brutality, committed against his personal friend, surprised the king, and distressed him beyond measure; yet so powerless did he feel himself, that he was compelled, not only to pardon the perpetrator of it, but to confirm to him the possession of the dignities he had acquired by barbarity and

¹ He was, on the contrary, eager to compensate those who had suffered in his cause, and gave rewards to the heirs of such as had fallen in the battles of Duplin and Halidon Hill: amongst these was the grandfather of Boethius. See p. 127 b. of his chronicle.

² Fordun, vol. ii., p. 335. Duff's History, Scotland, p. 20.

murder¹. On several occasions, the king had painfully to experience that he must either indulge the caprices of his imperious nobility, or sacrifice the crown they had won back for him². When such was the treatment experienced by David and his queen, no wonder if their regal diadems weighed heavily on their brows, and if they at times sighed for the luxurious comforts of their old Norman castle. The young queen, in particular, had ample cause to look on the past with regret, and on the future with anxiety. Her husband had scarcely attained to manhood, before he proved himself inconstant and faithless. For the sake of a worthless woman, who had not even beauty to recommend her, he forsook the companion of his early years, and left her to pine in loneliness of heart, desolate and neglected³.

Time passed on, however, and presently the term of the truce with England expired. Edward III. was still occupied in continental wars; and the Scots, weary of rest, advanced, under the leadership of their king, and made several successful attacks upon the borders, which Edward Baliol, the appointed warden, was unable adequately to defend. Philip of France, hoping that imminent peril at home might divert King Edward from the threatened siege of Calais, sent to entreat the Scottish king to make a still more vigorous attack⁴. On receiving such a message from his former friend and benefactor, "our King Davy," says Wyntown,

"That was young and right jolly,
And yearned for to see fighting,
Granted the king of France's yearning
And gathered his folk wholly *bedene* (quickly).

¹ Wyntown's Chron., vol. ii., p. 254. Duff, ut sup.

² Illustrations of Scottish History, No. 34, Maitland Club.

³ Fordun, vol. ii., p. 334.

⁴ Avesbury, p. 145. Gisborne's Chron., Cotton. MS., Nero D. ii., f. 290 b. Froissart, vol. i., p. 185. Fordun, vol. ii., p. 339. Choisy, Hist. de Phil. de Valois, p. 175. Leland, Collect., vol. ii., p. 110. Excerpt. e Cron. Scot., p. 178.

He might right well content have been
 That he was into England thrice,
 Of (*for*) war upon his enemies.
 Since none, those times, took on hand
 To pass of (*for*) war into his land.
 Why could he not have into peace
 Holden his land, as it then was,
 And himself out of dauger?
Who stands well, *he* should not stir.
 But for he saw then that Fortune
 So fairly with his folk had done,
 That, through winning in jeopardies,
 She had them *heyid* (raised) on such a wise
 That they near won had their land,
 He trowed she would have been *standand* (constant),
 But that was nought of kind her law;
 Our King Davy could not that know—
 Who will of fortune understand,
 It is her law to be *movand* (moving)
 She were false if she should be
 Stedfast standing *in a gre*¹ (in one mood).

Not possessing the calculating philosophy of his rhyming chronicler, on the inconstancy of Dame Fortune, King David showed a strong disposition to listen to "the sons of iniquity," who said, "Come, let us scatter the nation of the English, till their name be no longer remembered." He assembled 3,000 regular cavalry, 2,000 of whom were earls, barons, and knights, and about 30,000 other troops, many of them mounted on wild Scotch ponies. The season was already advanced, and expedition necessary. They marched across the borders, seized and took the castle of Liddell, in Cumberland², proceeded to Lanercost, and robbed the priory, "where dwelt canons, vene-

¹ Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 256-7.

² Walter de Selby, the governor of the castle, who had defended it boldly for three days, on its being taken, threw himself upon the king's mercy and begged for his life; "but David, mad and hardened like another Pharaoh, raging furiously, more enraged by madness than was Herod, an enemy most haughty, would neither yield to supplication nor to bribery. 'O reverend king,' said the soldier, 'if you would wish to see me yours, I hope now to receive, in royal fashion, some drop from the blessed fountain of your goodness.'" The king, in his "wicked rage," heeded not the petition, but commanded that he should be instantly beheaded. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 346.

rable men, devoted to God," of all its jewels, and thence advanced into the neighbourhood of Durham, expecting to meet with little opposition, on account of the absence of the king and his army at Calais. The host of wild Highlanders, as they advanced, committed melancholy ravages in the country through which they passed; and, with little more regard to the laws of religion than to those of humanity, they attacked and plundered the church of Hexham, consecrated to St. Cuthbert, and the adjacent territory, in spite of a benignant exhortation, said to have been given by the saint, who appeared to King David, in a dream, and warned him of the danger of invading his domains¹. A monk, who was an eye-witness of these fearful scenes, wrote a pathetic description in Latin verse, of part of which the following is a translation:—

"A voice was heard in Rama, weeping and mourning, when men and flocks together were driven to desolation. The little child begs bread, but no bread is there to give him, and hence he utters mournful wailings. Then the people, howling, fled to the southern parts, not hoping for any succour from human beings; but, in their agony, they utter words like these,—‘O, Cuthbert, help us, if help be in thy power.’”

To the intercessions of Saint Cuthbert, our writer ascribes the calamities that so soon overwhelmed the Scottish forces². They still advanced southwards, rapidly and carelessly; but England was not quite so defenceless as they deemed it. Though the vice-regal sceptre was then wielded by the hand of a woman, that woman had

¹ Fordun, vol. ii., p. 341.

² Illustrations of Scottish History, edited for the Maitland Club by J. Stevenson, Esq., No. 34, from a Latin poem in Harl. MS., 4843, f. 241, et seq., containing a graphic description of the battle of Neville's Cross, written by a monk of Durham. An interesting letter concerning the same battle is printed in "Scriptores Dunelmenses Tres," published by the Surtees' Society, Appendix, p. cccxxxv.

a heart to resent the insult offered to her absent lord, and a nation of warlike subjects, ready to rise and defend themselves against the invaders of their country. At the call of Queen Philippa, seconded by that of the Bishop of Durham, the people of the northern counties rose to arms. A considerable reinforcement which was on its way to the coast, to join King Edward at Calais, was countermanded, and hurried northward, and, in an incredibly short time, an army was assembled, headed by the bishop himself; the sacrilegious conduct of the invaders having invested the war with the prestige of religion, as well as of patriotism. King David was in entire ignorance of the gathering of these formidable opponents, till the knight of Liddesdale, William Douglas, going out one night on a foraging expedition, descried the approach of the English army, a detachment from which made a vain attempt to intercept his return. He hastened to communicate the tidings to his sovereign. "King David," said he, "rise up quickly, the English are upon us;" but David, who, as we have seen, owed a grudge to the Douglas, disbelieved, or feigned to disbelieve his report. "There are none left in England," said he, "but miserable monks, wicked presbyters, swineherds, tailors, and tanners. They dare not look me in the face: I am safe enough. I will soon make martyrs of these confessors." "Oh, reverend king," replied the other, "you will find it otherwise; they are right stout men; they will speedily be upon us, and they are eager to fight." The heedless king still professed incredulity, and even ventured to assert that Sir William's brain, wearied with the vigils of the night, which he had passed in his foray, must have deceived him, and made him double, in his imagination, the numbers of the foe. The king bade him begone as speedily as possible, if he trembled for the result: as for himself, he declared that whilst he could use his good right hand, he feared no Englishman. A Douglas accused of cowardice! and that

too by a youth who had rarely seen spears shattered, and blood flowing, in the stern realities of actual combat. Well it was for the rash young king that the offended knight was the son of one who had been his father's truest friend, or he might have had cause to repent his speech. Trembling with indignation, Sir William turned to the bystanders, saying that though he should stand firm that day, many an unborn infant would have cause to bewail it. He then addressed the Bruce, as follows:—

“The English fear I not, nor will I flee;
True am I, king, to Scotland and to thee.
What though thou trust me not, I'll prove my word,
Ere this day closes, by mine own good sword¹.”

During this confabulation, two monks from Durham, unconscious that an English army was so near, arrived to entreat a truce; but David, suspecting that their object was only to occupy his attention, so that the army might come upon him unawares, ordered the “false monks” to summary execution. Just then, the banners of the advancing English host were discerned, and in the general rush of preparation for the contest, the poor monks were fortunately overlooked, and seized the opportunity to make their escape².

The self-confident king had little time to throw his followers into battle array, before the English hosts were upon them; and then ensued the fearful strife, so well known in history as the battle of Neville's Cross. David himself commanded the centre of his army; but he proved an unskilful general; and his reckless impetuosity made him scorn the counsel of more experienced officers, who implored him to permit a hundred knights to rush in and break the ranks of the English bow-men, the fatal effects

¹ Illustrations of Scottish History, No. 34, pp. 36 et seq. Excerpt. è Cron. Scot., p. 178.

² Cron. Lanercost, p. 349.

of whose unerring arrows they had so often experienced¹. The Scots were defeated on all sides, and the king's body of troops attacked, at once, in front and flank; he himself displayed the greatest intrepidity, trying to rally his men, and rushing repeatedly into the thickest of the fight. Twice he was wounded by the English arrows, one of which struck him on the head, and another on the nose. In his rage, he refused to have them extracted, declaring he preferred death to defeat, and even provoking the English to slay him; but, at length, John Copeland, a Northumbrian "varlet," succeeded in taking him prisoner, having first lost two of his own teeth, which were dashed out by the gauntleted hand of the king². Even when overpowered, David refused to yield his sword to any one below the dignity of a knight, and it was only by the false assurance of Copeland, that he was within the pale of chivalry, that he accomplished his object³. The gallant Sir William Douglas nobly proved his valour and fidelity, by defending the person of his master with his own good sword, until he himself shared the same fate, and was also taken captive; as were the Earls of Fife and Monteith, and Sir Malcolm Fleming, so long the faithful friend and personal adherent of the young king⁴.

"Woe," says the monk of Hexham, "woe to him who destroyed the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and brought his lions' whelps in upon us, and burned our harvests, and

¹ Fordun, vol. ii., p. 344, applies to the young king the following quaint and appropriate lines :

"King's state if you will lead,
To auld men's counsel take good heed.
Rehoboam his kingdom *loosed* (lost),
Young men's counsel for he choosed."

² Fordun, vol. ii., p. 342. Tytler, vol. ii., p. 85. Leland Collect., vol. i., p. 561, and vol. ii., p. 470. Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 264.

³ Barnes' Edward III., p. 381.

⁴ Boethius, f. 129. Illust. Scot. Hist., ut sup. Chron. Lanercost, 341, ut sup. Wyntown's Chron., vol. ii., p. 264. Knighton, col. 2590. Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 98. Avesbury, p. 145. Chron. St. Albans, Lambeth MS., 6.

spared not! Woe to him who divided out lands which belonged not to him, who might have lived in peace, but he would not! Woe to him who despised the daughter of the king of England for a harlot whom chance threw in his way! King David loved a blear-eyed Leah, and looked on a most beautiful Rachel with scarcely any pleasure. Praise be to God, who avenged St. Cuthbert, &c¹."

The details of these events are given somewhat at large, because of the elucidations they afford of the personal character of David the Bruce; but it should be borne in mind that the portrait is drawn by the hands of two of his enemies. War, in its nearer approaches, is ever a terrific scourge; the monks of Hexham and Lanercost, who furnish the descriptions, were personal sufferers, and therefore some allowance must be made for the irritation under which they wrote. Still it is evident that King David manifested the heartless cruelty so characteristic of the times, and moreover, that unyieldingness and impetuosity marked his conduct.

The fortunate captor of the Scottish monarch, without waiting for instructions from Queen Philippa, hurried his royal prize northwards, first to the Castle of Ogle, and thence to Bamborough Castle, an ancient fortress on the sea coast, scarcely ten miles south of Berwick, and consequently close upon the borders of his own kingdom; a place of imprisonment dictated rather by his jealous anxiety to secure the captive in his own hands, than by prudence². The queen was displeased at this hasty removal of the royal prisoner, and sent repeatedly to demand him from Copeland³; but the sturdy wight refused to surrender him to any orders save those of the king, and it was not until he had had a personal interview with King Edward, who summoned him to Calais,

¹ Illustrations Scot. Hist., ut sup.

² Knighton, col. 2591. Maitland's Scot., vol. i., p. 539.

³ Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i., pp. 675, 679, 680.

that he consented, at his order, to relinquish his prize¹. On his return, he presented David to Queen Philippa, at York, with apologies for his previous refusal².

Great was the joy in England when tidings of the victory, and especially of the capture of King David, reached London. The valet of the Archbishop of York was the first bearer of the report to the queen and council, and was rewarded with a present of 10*l.*³, and an annual pension of 5*l.* more; whilst John Copeland was created a knight banneret with a grant of 500*l.* a-year from the customs at Berwick, in compensation for his laudable services in the war, and more particularly for his valiant deed at Durham, "when he took prisoner David Bruce, who had caused himself to be called King of Scotland, and cheerfully delivered him up⁴."

The Earls of Fife and Monteith, having previously recognized the authority of Baliol, and then changed sides, and joined the Bruce, were treated, not as prisoners of war, but as traitors, and the latter was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered⁵. On the 15th of December following, a messenger, named Thomas Rokeby, was sent to convey King David and his fellow-prisoner, Sir Malcolm Fleming, to London, "with all joy," and as "quickly as possible⁶." They were met on their journey by John Darcy, Constable of the Tower, to whom the persons of the king and of other prisoners, sent for from the castles of Wark, Roxburgh, and Bamburgh, were committed, and who signed a formal indenture acknowledging their safe transfer⁷.

The King and Queen of England, with their eldest son,

¹ Froissart, vol. i., pp. 197-199. For a more detailed account of the amusing contest between Philippa and Copeland, see *Queens of England*, vol. ii., pp. 324-326.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 93, 98. ³ Pell Roll, 26 Edw. III., Easter.

⁴ Patent Roll, 29 Edw. III., pt. 1., mm. 27, 2. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 102. ⁵ Chron. Lanercost, p. 351.

⁶ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 103.

Edward, were at this time absent on the continent; but the council, headed by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who, at the mature age of eight years, officiated as regent, received the captive king, with all the honour due to so illustrious a prisoner. It was on the 6th of January, 1347, that the son of Robert the Bruce, mounted on a tall black charger, at the head of a procession of 20,000 men, attended by all the City companies in their state liveries, and surrounded by thousands of the citizens of London, who thronged on horseback to indulge their eager curiosity with a sight of him, was conducted in triumph through the streets of London, and finally consigned to the state prison in the Tower¹.

Meanwhile, Scotland mourned in deep dejection the loss of many of her bravest sons, the blighting of her hopes, and the captivity of her sovereign. But the deepest of the mourners was the young queen; in passionate sorrow she bewailed to her attendants her sad destiny. "What miseries, anxieties, and griefs," says a contemporary writer, "did the noble lady, Joanna, sister of the King of England, and Queen of Scotland, suffer in

¹ Knighton, col. 2592. Chron. Lanercost, p. 351. Avesbury, Chron. Edw. III., p. 7. Chron. Ang., Cotton. MS., Tiberius, A. vii., f. 204 b. This last-named chronicler, proud of the rich show made by the London citizens, adds that David was thus given to see that the people of England were not made up of monks or warders like those of France! There is a curious account of King David's vain-glorious boasting before the battle of Neville's Cross, of his disastrous defeat there, and of his subsequent imprisonment, given by a poet who wrote before the time of Chaucer or Gower, but whose writings are very little known. His poems for a long time were only to be found amongst the Cottonian MSS., (Galba, E. ix.), where they are by mistake catalogued as *Chaucer's*, and thus remained the longer in oblivion. In harmony and variety of versification they are equal to those of any English poet before the sixteenth century:

Sir David the Bruce
Said he should *fende* (strive)
To ride through all England.
Would he not wend
At the Westminster Hall,
Should his steeds stand

those days! The afflicted lady herself, and those to whom with tears she related her sufferings, alone can

Whiles our King Edward
Was out of the land.
But now has Sir David
Missed of his marks,
And Philip the Valois,
With all their great clerks.

Sir Philip the Valois,
Sooth for to say,
Sent unto Sir David,
And fair gan him pray
To ride through England,
Their foemen to slay.
And said, none is at home
To let him the way;
None lets him the way
To wend where he will,
But with shepherd staves
Found he his fill!

* * * * *

When Sir David the Bruce
Sat on his steed,
He said of all England
Had he no dread.
But hind John of Copeland,
A *wight* (strong) man in *wede* (sooth)
Talked to David
And *kend* (taught) him his creed;
There was Sir David,
So doughty in his deed,
The fair Tower of London
Had he to *meed* (reward).

* * * * *

Then Sir David the Bruce
Makes his mone
The fair crown of Scotland
Has he foregone.
He looked forth into France,
Help had he none
Of Sir Philip the Valois,
Nor yet of Sir John.

The pride of Sir David
Began fast to slacken,
For he wakened the war,
That held himself taken

know them¹." Her husband had treated her with indifference; she had seen others usurp her place in his affections, but he was now a captive, sorrowful and in suffering, and her woman's heart forgave and forgot the past, in the anxiety to be of some service to him. She appealed to her brother on his behalf; but Edward III. was not in a mood to listen to entreaty, and refused to accept any ransom for his noble prisoner, or for any other of the Scots; tauntingly demanding reparation for all the damage done to England, before proposals concerning ransom could be entertained².

Since his first breach of the truce with Scotland, in the year 1333, Edward III. had cautiously refused to recognize the title of his brother-in-law to the kingdom, both during his residence in France, and after his restoration; and in the negotiations carried on between them, he styles him "David Bruce, calling himself King of Scotland," or "David Bruce, the king's enemy or prisoner³;" whilst, as late as the year 1348, documentary evidence exists of his giving the title of "King of Scotland" to Edward Baliol⁴. During the first year of his captivity King David seems to have been very rigorously guarded. Wyntown's expression is, that he was "holden *straitly* in prison⁵;" and the only indulgence granted him was the permission to send into Scotland for some necessaries for

For Philip the Valois,
Had he *bread baken*,
And in the Tower of London
His *inns* (lodgings) are taken.

Laurence Minot, Poems, temp. Edw. III., written in 1352. 12 Lond., 1795, pp. 39-43.

¹ Chron. John Westminster, p. 155. ² Knighton, col. 2597.

³ Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, Art. 32 and 33.

⁴ In the Close Roll, 15 Edw. III., pt. 2, memb. 21, orders were given for the payment of 100*l.* to "our dear cousin, the King of Scotland, for his costs in these parts, and also in going towards the northern parts;" and the Roll of 23 Edw. III., m. 32, summons him, as King of Scotland, to attend parliament. ⁵ Chron., vol. ii., p. 278.

his personal comfort¹; but at the close of the year, his earnest entreaties prevailed, for permission to communicate with some persons sent from Scotland on his private business, probably messengers from his wife, although her name does not appear².

But a more favourable change speedily took place, attributable partially to the influence of Queen Joanna, who sent repeated messengers to plead on her husband's behalf³; and partially to the pliant nature of the young Bruce. Wanting the firmness to endure his fate with fortitude, he listened to the overtures made to him by King Edward, whose sagacious penetration soon discovered that, could David be brought into subservience to his interests, he would be a more convenient, because a much more popular tool than Baliol had been⁴. When, therefore, in the following year, 1348, ambassadors were sent from Scotland to treat for the liberation of David, whom Edward now styled "his brother, David the Bruce," they were courteously received. The embassy was numerous and important, consisting of one hundred knights, with their pages, &c.⁵, headed by Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March⁶, and accompanied by Alexander Seton, Master of the order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, in Scotland, who had business with the king on his own account⁷. They failed, however, in concerting terms upon which the freedom of their monarch could be granted. The ransom demanded by King Edward was so enormous, and the exchequer of Scotland in so ruinous a condition, from long continued war, that it was impossible for the commissioners to agree to pay it. All that

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *May's Edward III.*, book 2.

⁴ "The people's hearts did with King David live,
Their hearts to Edward Baliol could not give."

May's Edward III., book 2.

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 158, 163, 167.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁷ *Ibid.*

they succeeded in effecting was the procuring a truce, until the terms of a peace could be decided upon¹.

On their return home, they communicated to the queen the result of their fruitless mission. Joanna had already done all that was in her power, at a distance, in behalf of her captive lord; and now she determined to try if her personal presence could avail, where letters and messages failed. She requested a safe-conduct to England, which was granted by her brother in the most cordial terms. It contained a charge for every attention to be paid to "Joanna, our very dear sister, consort of David Bruce, remaining in our tower of London, to come with as many persons as she shall please, of any state or condition whatsoever, to our kingdom of England, to speak with the aforesaid king, and to remain in England as long as she shall choose, or return to Scotland at pleasure." This document bears date October 10th, 1348². The queen instantly availed herself of the permission; and, without tarrying to provide herself with wardrode, wine, or any other customary travelling requirements, she set out at once, and, with a celerity of travelling very unusual in those times, reached London in little more than a week. There, in the royal fortress where she herself first saw the light, she rejoined her imprisoned husband, from whom she had been parted upwards of two years.

When Edward III. and his sister last separated, he was a youth of only sixteen years of age, and she a child of seven. Twenty years had since elapsed, during the latter part of which no single token of love had been exchanged between them; whilst the ceaseless enmity between England and Scotland, and the tenacity with which the queen ever clung to her husband and the Scotch interests, might well make her look forward, with some timidity to the meeting with her royal brother.

¹ See *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, p. 174. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i., p. 722.

Scarcely re-assured by the friendly tone of his safe-conduct, she carried her timidity so far that she even employed her husband to obtain for her the requisite permission for two English merchants whom she had left in charge of the settlement of her affairs and the provision of her necessary supplies, to bring her wardrobe, wine, and other needful articles to England. This the king courteously granted, at David's request, and the merchants were authorized to convey their packages on board a vessel called St. Mary's boat, of Yarmouth¹. When, however, Joanna did venture to present herself at her brother's court, she was graciously received, and treated with the deference due to a crowned queen; but she was not permitted to share her husband's imprisonment.

As she failed in attaining this object, she returned in the course of a few months to Scotland, in the hope that her services there would be more effectual in his cause, than any she could hope to render him in England. Frequent messengers passed between the two countries, and King David was occasionally permitted to send to his own realm for such articles of comfort or luxury as the care of an affectionate wife knew best how to provide. The queen's own valet, Robert Barbour, also journeyed into England to visit her husband, when she wished to have more immediate and private correspondence with him².

The queen's influence succeeded at length in mitigating the rigours of her husband's captivity. After a time, he was allowed occasional participation in the gaieties of the court. In April 1348, he took part in the festivities attending the celebration of the feast of the order of the Garter, attired in a suit of costly blue velvet, faced with crimson, and decorated with silver roses; and at the tour-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 176. *Rot. Scotiæ*, p. 723.

² *Rot. Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. 724, 729, 731, 755.

nament which ensued, he greatly distinguished himself by his chivalric exploits¹.

During the few years subsequently, several fruitless efforts were made to arrange terms of peace between the two rival countries². Edward had contrived to win over the young Bruce to his own interests, but he found the Scotch nobles less impressible, and he failed in every attempt to tamper with their fidelity, and to wring from them any acknowledgment of English supremacy. At length, thinking that the presence of their king might operate favourably upon them, he agreed that David, who had cheerfully consented to do homage to him as his liege lord³, should himself visit Scotland, under an oath to do all in his power to promote the English interest, and to return to his imprisonment, in case he failed in executing his task⁴. Consequently, he was dispatched as far as Berwick-upon-Tweed, in the custody of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, there to be exchanged for a number of hostages, chosen from the noblest of the Scots, who were to remain as pledges of his return. In case of any failure in the arrival of the hostages, David's former captor, John Copeland, now raised to the dignity of Sheriff of Northumberland, was charged, on peril of his life, to conduct him back in safety, as far as Newcastle, there to await further orders⁵. The hostages were duly sent to Berwick, and David Bruce proceeded thither on his mission, in the month of September 1351.

The view thus incidentally given of his character is

¹ Wardrobe Roll, 21—23 Edw. III., No. 639, Queen's Rem. The suit of arms in which he tilted is still preserved in the Round Tower at Windsor Castle. *Pyne's Royal Residences*, vol. i., pp. 4850.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 175, 181, 188, 205, 215, 225.

³ *Ayloffe's Calendar of Charters*, p. 299. *Tytler's Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 94.

⁴ *Knighton*, col. 2,603. *Duff's Scotland*, p. 23.

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 230, 231.

very unflattering. It presents an anomaly, almost unique in the history of nations, that the sovereign of a free state,—nay, more, of a state whose charter of freedom had been repurchased by the blood of his own father,—should be selected by a foreign prince, as the fittest agent for rivetting the fetters of usurpation and despotism upon his own people. But the Scotch were not more willing to learn the lessons of submission from the lips of a Bruce than they had been from those of the potent monarch of England. They professed themselves willing to make every exertion to procure the liberation of their sovereign, but they refused to purchase it by the sacrifice of their national independence¹.

The temporary reunion of David and Joanna was embittered not only by the failure of the object of his visit, but by the terrible condition to which the country was reduced, owing to the recent prevalence of a terrible pestilence which had swept through Scotland with such severity that one-third of the inhabitants fell victims to its ravages².

The king's visit was not prolonged beyond a few months. Hopeless of success, he returned, the following spring, to his former abode in the Tower, and the Scottish hostages were sent back into their own country³. In this, as well as in future journeys northward, John Copeland, now warden of the marches and guardian of Roxburgh, was always the responsible party charged with the care of the Scottish king, whilst in Northumberland⁴. He was

¹ In Sir Francis Palgrave's "Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland," vol. i., pp. 369–377, is printed the curious series of forged letters, by which the superiority of England over Scotland was endeavoured to be proved.

² Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 271.

³ Knighton, col. 2603. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 237, 241. Devon's *Excerpta* from the Pell Rolls, p. 156. Tytler, vol. ii., p. 9619.

⁴ Patent Roll, 37 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 7 dorse. *Rot. Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. 841–2. Copeland afterwards himself fell a victim to private vengeance.

delivered over from the constable of the Tower to the person appointed to convey him northward; by him to the northern magnates, the Bishop of Durham, or the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and by them to Copeland, with orders for formal receipts to be signed by each party to whose custody he was intrusted, somewhat after the fashion of a bale of costly merchandize. The same formalities were observed on his journeys back to London.

Queen Joanna did not return with her husband to England. The circumstance that, in spite of the kindness with which she was treated by her brother, she still clung to her adopted country, and was very popular with the Scots, goes far to prove that she did not coincide in or forward the views of Scottish subjugation, to which her husband was weak enough to lend himself; the fact that the English-born queen continued to reside in Scotland, whilst enmity existed between the rival kingdoms, and whilst her lord was himself a resident in England, can scarcely otherwise be accounted for; unless we suppose that Joanna was left behind to exert her influence in bringing about terms of conciliation. If this were the case, she was utterly unsuccessful; the subservient policy of King David thwarted all her efforts. He was dispatched a second time by King Edward, in the following summer, 1352, to treat with the Scottish nobles at Newcastle; but his proposals differed little from those of the preceding year, and the indignant Scots not only reiterated their absolute refusal to accede to any terms based

He was slain, in 1362, by John de Clifford, at Bolton More; all the lands of the murderer were granted by Edward III. to his widow, Joanna de Copeland. *Knighton*, col. 2626. *Patent Roll*, 37 *Edw. III.*, pt. 2, m. 7 *dorse*. *Ibid.*, 40, pt. 1, m. 43. His will, bearing date Oct. 9, 1359, is printed in the volume of "Wills and Inventories," published by the Surtees' Society, in 1835, p. 30, with a short biographical notice, which does not, however, record the date or manner of his death.

on the acknowledgment of English supremacy, but they also added that, unless David himself would renounce English influence, and promise to pass an act of indemnification for all that had been done in Scotland during his absence, they would make no effort to redeem him, and would elect another sovereign in his stead. On receiving such a rebuff, the crest-fallen monarch was glad to hurry back to London¹.

This crisis of affairs was very mortifying to King Edward, and not less so to Joanna, who, finding her further stay in Scotland useless and inexpedient, applied for leave to return to England. Her request was granted, though in less cordial terms than before. "The noble Lady Joanna, our very dear sister, consort of our prisoner, David the Bruce," was permitted to come to England, with a moderate suite of attendants; but her safe-conduct, instead of allowing her unlimited permission of residence, was only to last five months, from the latter end of July to Christmas, 1333, which were to include her coming, tarrying, and returning²." On her arrival in England, however, after an absence of four years, she was received with wonted kindness, and permitted to remain at her pleasure, but still separated from her husband. Her frequent residence was at court, where, in her sister-in-law, Queen Philippa, to whom she became fondly attached, she found that sympathy of character and feeling of which she had so long been deprived.

Finding that his sister was now wishful to continue in England, at least until the liberation of the king, of which there was no speedy prospect, King Edward provided for her a separate residence at the castle of Hertford. This building, founded before the conquest, was at that time in the nominal possession of the Wake family, who held

¹ Knighton, p. 2606. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 260. Patent Roll, 26 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 31 dorse.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 262. *Rot. Scotiæ*, p. 760.

it as tenants of the crown. It was pleasantly situated on the north side of the river Lea, and a park, about a mile in extent, stood near the castle¹. Here the king made all needful arrangements for Joanna's reception and comfort, the oversight of which was committed to Walter de Milton, supervisor of the king's works. Under his directions, a stagnant pool near the kitchen of the castle was cleared out and filled up, a task which occupied eight labourers for twelve days; her apartments were put into repair by three carpenters and a labourer, who were employed upon them eleven days, and all necessary furniture was purchased. The king also provided her with a handsome establishment; she had her master falconer, who, with two inferior attendants, was employed to train her birds to the best possible advantage, and she participated freely in such rural exercises as were customary amongst the high-born ladies of the age². To her brother's liberality she was also indebted for many costly articles of luxury, with which, from time to time, he presented her³.

We have little evidence of the extent of intercourse that took place between Queen Joanna and her mother, Isabella of France, who now lived in honorary retirement from court, at Castle Rising, in Norfolk, distant about sixty-five miles from Hertford castle. One allusion occurs in a wardrobe fragment, to Queen Joanna's falconer, with his two attendants, staying at Castle Rising for the better training of her birds. Moreover, Wynthorn, in recording her visit to England, says she came "her mother and her brother to see⁴;" and John Packington, clerk of Edward the Black Prince, whose position would make him well acquainted with the movements of the royal family, mentions the queen-mother, as being at

¹ Chauncey's Hertfordshire, p. 244.

² Wardrobe Fragment, temp. Edw. III., Queen's Rememb. Office.

³ One Wardrobe Fragment mentions the purchase of 2,242 skins of miniver and 336 of ermine for the robes of the Queen of Scots.

⁴ Chron., vol. ii., p. 288.

Hertford castle with her daughter.¹ Isabella also, on one occasion, used her influence to obtain permission for William Leith, seneschal of the Scotch Queen's household, to visit England, probably to make arrangements with his mistress, against her return home, as it was towards the close of her English residence². From these notices, slight as they are, we may fairly conclude that the mother and daughter were not entirely separated.

Joanna fondly cherished the memory of her deceased father; she visited his tomb at Gloucester, and offered there a necklace, enclosing a valuable ruby, one of the few jewels of which she was possessed³.

Her captive lord proved himself year by year increasingly unworthy of her tenderness. He availed himself of the freedom afforded by a relaxation of restraint, to indulge in low amours: and one Katherine Mortimer, in particular, a damsel of London, became the object of his warm attachment. This might probably be a reason why King Edward changed his abode, and sent him to reside, first at Nottingham castle,⁴ afterwards at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and finally at Odiham; but these precautions appear to have been fruitless, for the frail Londoner ever contrived to share the prison of her lover⁵.

¹ *Lel. Collect.*, ii., 568. His chronicle was dedicated to the prince.

² *Rot. Scotiæ*, p. 814, date Oct. 16, 1347.

³ *Cotton. MS.*, Domitian, A. viii., f. 140. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i., p. 535. A saintly influence was ascribed to the murdered monarch. In 1347, Edward III., being in peril at sea, in returning from Bretagne, invoked his father's aid, and to his intercession attributed the deliverance that followed. In token of gratitude, he offered at his shrine a golden ship, which, at the request of the monks, he redeemed for 100*l.*, but left the jewels decorating the prow. The Prince of Wales offered, at the same time, a magnificent cross of gold, including a fragment of the true cross, and Queen Philippa a golden heart.

⁴ *Lel. Itinerary*, vol. i., p. 105. Whilst at Nottingham, he is said to have diverted himself by carving on the vaulted rocky sides of one of his apartments the history of our Saviour; some traces of the quaint sculpture yet remain. *Pyne's Royal Residences*, vol. i. p. 50. *Barnes' Edw. III.*, p. 529.

⁵ *Gray's Scalacronica*, p. 196. *Cont. Trivet.*, Harley MS., 688,

Meanwhile negotiations were still prolonged between England and Scotland, for the liberation of David. Although the Scots had ceased to entertain personal esteem towards him, they felt the indignity of allowing their recognized sovereign to remain so many years a captive;¹ and, in July 1534, a treaty was actually agreed upon by both parties, the stipulations of which were that the Scots should pay 90,000 marks, in annual instalments of 10,000, for the ransom of their king, and give twenty hostages, until the payments were completed; and that, in failure of the payments, David should again surrender himself to captivity².

This treaty was confirmed by oath, on the 15th day of October³, and orders were given for the emancipation of King David, who had already been sent northward as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne⁴, and for the receipt of the hostages, &c. But the Scots, under the influence of an ambassador sent over from France with a seasonable subsidy of French gold⁵, and encouraged by the absence of King Edward on a continental campaign, disregarded all the specified conditions, broke through their engagements, and even renewed aggressions upon the border counties. They seized the town of Berwick, and rushed across the borders, in the vain hope of rescuing their captive sovereign; who, impolitic as it may seem, was actually allowed to

f. 317. Chron. Anon., Lansdowne MS., 289, f. 137 b., col. 2. Lel. Collect., vol. ii., p. 377. Walsingham, p. 165. Camden's Britannia, vol. ii., p. 369.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 279.

² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286-293.

⁵ Of the coin called *moutons d'or*. Wyntown laughably describes the ambassador's visit, vol. ii. p. 271.

"Of gold he brought into the land
Of *muttons* forty full thousand;
Those muttons all of fine gold were,
Four shillings each one worth, but mair.
The King of France these to them sent,
To gar them prove more hardiment."

reside for many months at Newcastle, and was there as late as the month of March 1355¹.

The patience of King Edward was at length fairly exhausted; and no sooner had he returned from the campaign which occupied him during the summer of 1355, than he made hasty but vigorous preparations to invade Scotland². Heedless of the rigours of the season, in January 1336, he appeared with an army before Berwick, which he retook, and then marched onward through the Iothians, plundering and burning the country with such desolating fury, that his inroad was long remembered by the Scots as the "burnt Candlemas³." To give a show of legality to his proceedings, on the 20th of January, Edward held a mock parliament at Roxburgh, in which he purchased from Baliol, whose right to the crown of Scotland he professed to consider paramount, a relinquishment of his claim, and a formal concession of the kingdom to himself⁴. Robert, seneschal of Scotland, designating himself "vice-regent of David, the illustrious King of Scotland," at the same time, convened a rival council at Perth, from which two bishops and two knights were sent to propose terms of accommodation; but their overtures were altogether scorned by King Edward⁵. A resignation of his claim was procured from David Bruce, as well as from Baliol. "Considering how that God had done many marvellous things and gracious for Edward King of England, at his own will from day to day, he took and gave up the realm of Scotland and the crown of Scotland, at Roxburgh, into King Edward's hands of England, under his patent letters thereof made. And anon after, King Edward, in presence of all the prelates and other worthy lords that were there, let

¹ Devon's Excerpta, p. 161.

² Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 314.

³ So called from Candlemas Day, February 2nd.

⁴ Cotton. MS., Vitell., A. xvi., f. 216. Rot. Scot., vol. i., p. 799. Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 317. From this time nothing more is heard of Edward Baliol, who died a childless old man at Doncaster, in 1363. *Pictorial History of England*, vol. i., p. 772.

⁵ Fœdera, vol. iii., pp. 317, 328.

crown himself king of all the realm of Scotland¹." So says our chronicler, but the coronation of Edward III. as King of Scotland, is not an authenticated fact, and the close of his expedition was almost as disastrous to himself as, in its commencement, it had been to his enemies.

In his cooler moments, the king himself felt that he had advanced pretensions which he was utterly unable to support; and that his claim to the independent sovereignty of the reckless Scots was as untenable as it was fallacious². At the close of the very year in which he had put forth such magniloquent pretensions, he consented to renew negociation for the freedom of King David³, who was once more sent to Berwick, to aid in the negociation of the terms. This transaction is thus recorded by Wyntown:—

" Yet in prison was King Davy,
And when a long time was gone by,
From prison and perplexity,
To Berwick castle brought was he,
With the Earl of Northampton,
For to treat there of his ransom.
Some lords of Scotland came there,
And also prelates that wisest were.
Four days or five there treated they;
But they accorded by no way.
The English folk all angry were,
And, aye, spake rudely more and more.
While at the last the Scots' party,
That dread their foes' felony,
All privily went home their way,
At that time there no more did they.
The king to London then was had,
That there a long time after *bade* (abode)⁴."

Though the Berwick negotiations then fell through, they were soon renewed, and dragged on with the usual pro-

¹ Caxton's Chron., Lamb. MS., 84.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p 334. That he at one time seriously contemplated asserting his right appears from a contemporaneous record, in which the justice, necessity, utility, honesty, and security of the claim are argued with much ingenuity. *Illustrations Scottish History, Maitland Club, No. xxvii.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 352, 354, 355, 356.

⁴ Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 282.

licity until the spring of the year 1357, when the success of the Black Prince in the French war, which terminated in the battle of Poitiers, and the captivity of King John of France, rendered his allies of Scotland a little more pliant. Edward, on the other hand, was now released from his honorary obligations to support the mock king, Edward Baliol¹. Queen Joanna, availing herself of these favourable coincidences, renewed her entreaties with increased earnestness²; and, at length, the terms of King David's emancipation were finally adjusted, with every possible circumstantiality of detail³. They were nearly the same as those rejected by the Scots in 1534, only that 100,000 marks of ransom money were now exacted, instead of 90,000; and, in addition, the expenses of the entertainment of King David during his long imprisonment⁴; all which the Scots, assisted by the French government⁵, consented to pay; a proof that the reminiscences of the "burnt Candlemas" were not without effect upon them⁶. King Edward pledged himself,

¹ Maitland's Scotland, vol. i., p. 539.

² Barnes' Edw. III., p. 528.

³ The Cotton. MS., Nero, B. vi., ff. 616, et seq., contains a full recapitulation of the Treaty of Berwick, with a list of the hostages. Prefixed is a comical illumination of the two kings of England and Scotland. Edward, in an ermined mantle, gives his hand to King David, and seems accompanying the act with some friendly exhortation; the attitude and expression of the King of Scots, who has one hand on Edward's shoulder, denote earnest and submissive attention. It is engraved in the vignette to this volume. Another contemporary copy of the treaty, though less elaborately ornamented, is in Cotton. MS., Vesp., C. xvi., ff. 27-33. See also *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 364-368 passim. Cott. MS., Vitell., C. iv., f. 95. Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i. passim, p. 34 b.

⁴ Harl. MS., 685, f. 314 b. Gray's Scalacronica, p. 176.

⁵ The French actually agreed to pay half the ransom money, being persuaded by David that his long imprisonment was owing to his refusal to renounce the interests of France! *Original Documents, Scotland, 1359. Archives du Royaume, Paris.* The following are the words of the record:—"Le dit David ne se voulut onques departir de l'alliance de France, encore que, s'il l'eut faict, le dit Roy d'Angleterre l'eut facilement delivré de prison." See also French Roll, 33 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 2. Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i., pp. 845-6.

⁶ Walsingham., p. 165. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 372. Documents re-

that if David faithfully fulfilled his part of the treaty, he should be considered as restored to the position he held before the battle of Durham; a promise of ambiguous import, since even at that time Edward III. asserted his claims to the feudal supremacy of Scotland¹.

The return of King David to his own dominions was fixed for the autumn of 1357. A few extracts from the Pell rolls afford illustrations of the treatment and private habits of Joanna's recreant lord, towards the close of his captivity. In the summer of 1356, he was at Odiham castle, under the custody of one of the king's serjeants-at-arms; when a tunic, a jacket, hose, cloth, and lining for a robe, and a hat ribband, were purchased for him, amounting in value to 5*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* He remained there until the spring of 1357, when another serjeant was sent to convey him back to London², probably on account of indisposition; since an apothecary of London was instructed to provide certain spices and electuaries, including white powders, wax, candied sugar, &c., "for the medicine of David the Bruce, King of Scotland, remaining in prison within the Tower of London;" the king's butler was ordered to send a pipe of the best Gascon wine for his use, and a set of robes was made and sent to him³. During his stay at the Tower, he witnessed the stately procession which met and welcomed Edward the Black Prince, when he led the captive King of France, son of David's former friend and benefactor, Philip of Valois, in triumph through the city of London; and he was also

relative to the receipt of the ransom instalments and of the hostages occur, in endless numbers, in *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 390, 391, 394-7, &c., 453, 465, 498, 500, 506, and *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. The hostages were selected from the noblest of the land. Among them were the two sons of Robert Stewart, next heir to the crown; also the Earl of Sutherland and his son; the former having married a daughter of Robert the Bruce, both were in the line of collateral succession to the crown. See *Scalacronica*, p. 176. *Devon's Excerpta*, pp. 169, 193, 198. *Pell Rolls*, 35 *Edw. III.*, *Mich.*, et *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 367.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii., p. 92.

present at the jousts subsequently held at Smithfield, where the nobility of England saw with pride their monarch and his son attended by the two captive sovereigns of the rival nations¹. These ended, King David was again sent to Odiham, where he spent the short remainder of his captivity². He had a chaplain, a surgeon, and several attendants, constantly in his service, and an allowance of 13s. 4d. was daily paid to himself, wherewith to make provision for his table³; a supply which, taking into account the value of money at that time, would be sufficient for comfort, but not for luxury. Though the king was allowed the privilege of choosing his dinners, his board money was all that was permitted to pass through his own hands. All other necessities were ordered by King Edward or his officials, and provided from the royal wardrobe⁴, excepting such as he had occasional permission to procure from Scotland.

The Scottish king and queen had resided apart in England⁵, and their partial separation for so long a period, with the infrequency of intercourse, even between different parts of the same kingdom, had probably left Joanna in happy ignorance of the extent to which the king carried his passion for his paramour, Katherine Mortimer. Accordingly, she determined to share the fortunes of her husband on his return to his kingdom⁶; the sene-

¹ Chron. St. Albans, Lamb. MS., No. 6. sub anno 31 Edw. III. Boethius, p. 130 b, thus mentions this meeting of the kings:—"It is said that King Edward, full of vain arrogance, sat crowned, with sceptre and diadem, betwixt two captive kings of Scotland and France, in his feast, that such things might be rehearsed to his glory, taking no respect to the insecure state of man, as if no such adversity might fall to him."

² Devon's Excerpta, p. 166. Hearne's Otterbourne, p. 141. Chron. John of Malvern, Middlehill MS., 10429, f. 1 b.

³ Devon's Excerpta, p. 157. Pell Roll, 22 Edw. III., Easter.

⁴ Fœdera, vol. iii., pp. 99, 250. Pell Roll, 33 Edw. III., Mich.

⁵ Barnes speaks of Queen Joanna as sharing her husband's confinement, but the evidence of records is conclusive to the contrary. *Hist. of Edw. III.*, p. 529.

⁶ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 372.

schal of the queen's household was sent for to England, probably to receive her commands respecting the arrangements of her future establishment, and one of her valets was dispatched, with four horsemen, to prepare for her reception¹. At length, in November 1357, after a captivity of more than ten years, King David, accompanied by Joanna, arrived in his own dominions, where he was received with kindness by his subjects, but without the enthusiasm that characterized the welcome given to him on his return from France. His inclination towards English interests led them to regard his every movement with suspicion, even though he took the precaution of bringing with him not a single English attendant, excepting a favourite young page².

During the early period of their reunion, David seems to have treated his queen with courtesy and kindness. But ere long, the presence of his virtuous wife was felt to be a restraint, which he would gladly throw off; and, therefore, after only a few weeks' residence in Scotland, he invented a plea of business to be transacted at the English court, which she could accomplish more efficiently

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i., pp. 814, 815.

² Of this page a curious incident is related by Wyntown, vol. i., p. 293.

“The king was then delivered free,
And held his way to his country.
With him of English brought he none,
Without a chamber-boy alone.
The *whether* (which) upon a morn when he
Should wend to his council privy,
The folk, as they were wont to do,
Pressed right rudely in thereto.
But he right suddenly gan *arrace* (arracher)
Out a macer's hand a mace,
And said rudely ‘How do ye now?
Stand still, or the proudest of you
Shall on the head have, with this mace.’
Then was there none in all that place,
But all they gave him room in high;
Durst none press farther that were by,
His council door might open stand,
That none durst to it be *pressand* (pressing).”

than any other person, and obtained her own consent, and her brother's permission for her to return thither¹. Accordingly, attended by Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, William, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a train of sixty horsemen, and as many pages, the queen came in state to London, in January 1358, where she remained several months². During her absence, King David availed himself of the opportunity to send for the beautiful Mortimer; and, on the queen's return to Scotland, she had the mortification of seeing her rival installed into all the privileges of a royal mistress³. Deeply wounded by such conduct, Joanna adopted the resolution at once to withdraw from the husband who treated her so unworthily. She wrote immediately to her brother to request a permanent asylum in her native country, and her wishes were met with prompt and kindly compliance. He sent her first a safe-conduct, couched in general terms, dated May 6th⁴; but, three days afterwards, he repeated it in more distinct and specific terms. A marked difference occurs between this and any former safe-conduct granted her. She is said to come to England, not, as before, on the business of David, but "for certain causes" which are not specified; she was to be attended by her household servants, to the number of twelve knights, with their valets; and, instead of a limited term being allowed, as usual, for the duration of the safe-conduct, it is said that the queen is to be taken "into the special defence and protection of the king, whilst she stays in England," without a word implying any probability of her return⁵. So far, Joanna seems to have acted without the knowledge or consent of her husband; but, when he was made acquainted with her

¹ Excerpt. e Cron. Scot., p. 187.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 385. *Rot. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 817.

³ Gray's *Scalacronica*, p. 196.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 391.

⁵ *Rot. Scotiae*, vol. i., p. 822.

intentions, his wrath at first knew no bounds, and he went to such extremes as to deprive the queen and her household of their usual supplies of provision. In this dilemma, King Edward, at his sister's entreaty, immediately ordered an English merchant to provide 400 quarters of corn, 400 of barley, and 200 of peas and beans, and sent them by water to Scotland, for the household of "his dearest sister, the queen¹."

Shortly afterwards, Joanna took her final departure from Scotland, and arrived at the court of King Edward. The fact that she was accompanied by Annabella, Countess of Carrick, daughter-in-law of Robert Stewart, proves that, in the Bruce family, the conduct of the queen was approved, and her motives understood and appreciated. With the characteristic gentleness of her disposition, Joanna, far from endeavouring to retaliate upon her husband the wrongs she had suffered, exerted all her influence with her brother to promote the interests of the Scotch, in procuring for them increased facilities of intercourse in commercial transactions, obtaining leave for Scotch youths to study at English universities, &c.²

Shortly after her departure, King David himself prepared to visit England. His principal object probably was to persuade his injured wife to return to him; but the nominal reason was to procure a mitigation in reference to the terms of the payment of his ransom, one instalment of which had been punctually discharged³; but the exhausted state of the country caused the raising of the second to be attended with great sacrifices to his needy subjects. He was attended by the Earl of Mar and a train of eighty horse, and reached London at the close of the year. On his arrival, the Scotch monarch was not lodged at court, but took up his residence at the

¹ Rot. Scot., vol. i., p. 823.

² Rot. Scot., vol. i., pp. 822, 823, 825.

³ Rot. Scot., vol. ii., p. 827.

priory of the friars preachers in Holborn¹. There his wife consented to reside with him during his stay in London; and, greatly to her credit, she threw her whole influence and energy into her efforts to prevail with her brother to compassionate the miserable condition of the Scots, and to consent to the requested prorogation of the terms of payment. The king, in the patent by which he accords the favour, says, that "his dearest sister has many times supplicated him, of his especial grace to grant it²," and in a letter dated from the house of the friars preachers, London, February 21, 1359, David informs his subjects, that "at the great and diligent request and instance of his very dear companion, the Lady Joanna, the said king, his very dear brother, had, of his especial grace, granted that, if it was found impossible to pay the next instalment of the ransom at the time appointed, viz., the ensuing June, he would graciously refrain from any challenges or pursuits, on account of such a breach of compact, and allow it to be postponed until November." At the same time, David tells them, that "not wishing the king's clemency to be turned to his prejudice, he had pledged himself, on his royal honour and chivalry, not to defer the payment, if it could be accomplished by the earlier period³."

The two kings also entered into several other mutual compacts; such as that their respective countries should trade freely together; that the coinage of one should pass current in the other; that Scottish youths should be allowed to study in the English universities &c.⁴;

¹ Rot. Scot., vol. ii., p. 835.

² Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 391.

³ Knighton, col. 2619.

⁴ Maitland's Scot., vol. i., p. 548. Knighton, col. 2619. Fœdera, vol. iii., pp. 419, 420. It is worthy of notice, that in this and several subsequent documents King David still styles himself "prisoner of war of the King of England." It was only after the full payment of the ransom that his liberation was considered to be legally effected, until which time he was still a prisoner on parole.

and terms of perpetual peace and league were discussed¹; the final adjustment of which took place in the following year².

Not long after this interview, King David prepared for his return homewards, but Joanna declined to accompany him. During their brief period of renewed intercourse, she had probably seen enough to convince her that her husband's affections could never be wholly her own, and that, with him, nothing but domestic unhappiness would be her portion. Never again, therefore, would she be prevailed upon to visit the country where her womanly feeling and queenly dignity had alike been outraged; and she declared her determination to spend the remainder of her existence in England. No maternal tie bound her to the land of her marriage³, and her conjugal bonds were virtually broken by the infidelity of her husband. King Edward not only cordially concurred in the decision of his sister, but promised to allow her 200*l.* a-year for the support of her establishment, as long as she chose to remain in England⁴. The profligate king was obliged to return alone to Scotland, where, in the society of his mistress, he endeavoured to find compensation for that of his true-hearted wife.

But the Scots were attached to Queen Joanna, whose constancy of character they had long regarded with respect; and nobles and people were alike indignant to see a wanton harlot flaunting by the side of their monarch, in the place of their beloved queen: the more so, since David had the ill taste to carry his mistress with him into public, and to allow her constantly to ride on horseback by his side.

¹ Knighton, col. 2619. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 150 b.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 632, 659, 693. *Tytler*, vol. ii., p. 123.

³ One of the Harleian MSS. makes mention in two places of a son of David Bruce that died young. *No.* 115, *ff.* 6, 7; but the silence of all contemporary authorities renders the statement very improbable.

⁴ *Pell Roll*, Mich., 33 Edw. III., *Rolls House*.

At length popular indignation reached its height; and a peasant named Richard de Hulle, prompted by several of the nobility, laid in wait for the king and his mistress, as they rode near Melrose; and, seizing the opportunity when Katherine's steed was a little in the rear, rode up to her and plunged a knife into her body¹. The king heard her cry, and was instantly at her side, but the peasant who was well mounted, escaped, and, being protected by a powerful party, could not be brought to vengeance. The king made "great dole"² for the loss of his mistress, and had her honourably interred.

This tragedy took place in the year 1360. But not even the death of her rival could induce Queen Joanna to return to Scotland³, although in the year 1362, King David paid a visit to England, probably hoping to prevail upon her to return with him⁴. Her health was already failing, and she was so fully convinced of her husband's inconstancy and licentious tendencies, that she resolved not to subject herself to a repetition of what she had already endured. She retired to the seclusion of Hertford castle, then nominally the possession of her nephew, John of Gaunt⁵, with a small train of personal attendants, consisting of her tailor, two damsels, two esquires, four valets-de-chambre⁶, and others of inferior

¹ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i., p. 578. "About this time, in the year 1360, one Catherine Mortimer, a demoiselle of London, was so beloved of Davy Bruce, King of Scots, by acquaintance that he had in time of imprisonment with her, that he could not forbear her company. Whereat the lords of Scotland were angry, and caused one Richard de Hulle, a varlet of Scotland, to go to her as for business from Bruce, and he stucked her and killed her, riding from Melrose to Soltre. Whereupon Bruce took great dolour, and caused her to be buried honourably at Newbottle."

² Gray's *Scalacronica*, p. 196.

³ Balfour's *Scotland*, vol. i., p. 117.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 645.

⁵ Chauncey's *Hertfordshire*, p. 244. Grose's *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 3, contains two drawings of the old wall and such small portions of the castle as still remain.

⁶ *Wardrobe Account*, 34, 35 Edw. III., No. 935, Queen's Rememb.

note. She still kept up communications with Scotland, sending over her messengers and servants for the transaction of her business, but no mention ever occurs of her sending letter or message to her recreant husband¹.

On one occasion, and only one, the Queen of Scots is recorded to have made her appearance in public. She was present on Sunday, October 10, 1361, when her gallant nephew, Edward the Black Prince, gave his hand to her namesake Joanna, "the fair maid of Kent," in the chapel royal Windsor, amidst an assembly which comprised all that England could boast of fair and noble².

The last documentary reference we find to the Scottish queen, is in a permission given in May 1362, for John Herring, one of her Scotch servants, to come to her in England, with three horsemen, on the discharge of her private business³. In her quiet retirement, alone, or with the occasional companionship of Queen Philippa and other members of her own family, she awaited the termination of an existence fraught with sorrow and humiliation. She expired on the 7th of September, in the year 1362, at the age of forty-one⁴. The affectionate Queen Philippa attended her during her last illness, and was with her at the time of her decease⁵.

An account of the character and death of Joanna is comprised in a few graphic sentences from the pen of Barnes, the chronicler of Edward III⁶. "Queen Joan, also of Scotland, surnamed Joan of the Tower, sister to King Edward of England," "deceased towards the end of this year (1362) without issue; but that it is better to leave

¹ Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i., pp. 848, 863.

² Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 627.

³ Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 647. Lel. Collect., vol. ii., p. 568.

⁴ Cotton. MS., Galba, E. vii. f. 188. This chronicler is the only one who gives the day of the death of Joanna, the vigils of the nativity of the Virgin. See Walsing., p. 172.

⁵ Leland, vol. ii., p. 5.

⁶ Page 551.

an honorable report than children behind. And certainly, if King David her husband had never been oppressed with adversity, she might have been accounted happy; but then she had never been extolled, with that commendation which her virtue and conjugal affection doth claim from posterity. For during the seven years' exile which King David had formerly led in France, she would by no means forsake him or his fortune; but faithfully and constantly adhered to him, both then, and also all the time of his imprisonment here in England, which was for the space of eleven years more." Wyntown, speaking of her journey to England adds,

" And within short time she died there, :
With her elders she buried was,
To Paradise her soul must pass.
For she was sweet and *debonnaire*,
Courteous, homely, pleasant, and fair¹."

The remains of the Scottish queen were interred with considerable pomp, in the choir of the church of the Greyfriars, now Christ Church, London, close by the tomb of her mother, Queen Isabella². The sum of 24*l.* was paid to Gilbert Prince, a painter of London, for banners and other ornaments provided by him for the obsequies of Queen Joanna³.

King Edward further showed his respect for his sister's memory, by discharging such debts as she had left unpaid⁴. The monument erected upon her grave, is now

¹ Cronikyl, vol. ii., p. 288.

² Reading's Chron., Harl. MS., 685, f. 331. Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii., p. 579. Boethius, p. 327. Stow's Survey, p. 266. Harding thus associates the two queens in his brief notice of their death, p. 330.

"The Queen Isabell, and the Queen of Scotland—
Her daughter was, and King David's wife,—
Soon after died, and buried, I understand,
At the Grey Friars in London, known rife,
The which Queen Isabel founded in their life;
Full fair entombed and wrought full richly,
Where the two queens rest full honourably."

³ Devon's Excerpta, p. 184.

⁴ One of her creditors was a French nobleman, Charles Lord, of

defaced, as is also her effigy, which was subsequently sculptured, along with those of her husband and many of her own family, round the tomb of her sister-in-law, Queen Philippa, in Westminster Abbey¹.

Scarcely a year after the decease of his wife, David the Bruce married a woman of inferior birth, the daughter of one of his barons, who had smitten his amorous fancy², although she was then a widow for the third time; and this person he was imprudent enough to raise to the throne, but after the lapse of a few years was divorced from her³. He lived seven years after this marriage, during which he paid several visits to England, a country for which he retained an attachment very unpleasing to his own subjects⁴. The policy of Edward III. fostered this attachment; and, taking advantage of it, he actually entered into a secret stipulation with him, that David should endeavour to secure the crown of Scotland, after his own decease, to Prince Lionel, Edward's second son. On the bare mention of such a scheme to the Scots, they indignantly declared that "no Englishman's son" should ever be King of Scotland⁵.

King David died in the year 1370, the forty-seventh of his age and thirty-ninth of his reign, childless and unrespected. The Scots entombed this last relict of the

Montmorency, to whom she owed 20*l.*, and 21 marks to the treasurer of Queen Philippa, money that was lent by the queen. Pell Roll, Mich., 38 Edw. III. Devon's Excerpta, p. 180.

¹ Brayley's Westminster Abbey, vol. ii., p. 97.

² He professed to marry from political motives, hoping for an heir to the throne, but the pretext was well known to be false. Cotton. MS., Vitel., C. iv., f. 190.

³ Monumenta Vetusta, vol. iii., p. 9. Gray's Scalacronica, p. 202. Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 293. Lel. Collect., vol. i., p. 79.

⁴ Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 723. Chron. St. Albans, Lambeth MS., No. 6. Devon's Excerpta, p. 183. For particulars of his visit at the time that the King of Cyprus was in England, see Froissart, vol. iii., pp. 114, 115. Cotton. MS., Vitel., A. xvi., f. 23 b. Walsingham, p. 173.

⁵ Wyntown, vol. ii., p. 294. Tytler, vol. ii., p. 137. Excerpt. e Cron. Scot., p. 188.

honoured race of Bruce, with much solemnity, in the Abbey of Holyrood¹; but the chief expense of his funeral, and also of his tomb, was borne by King Edward IV.² "His life," says Sir Walter Scott, "was an uniform contrast to the patriotic devotion of his father. He exacted and received the most painful sacrifices at the hands of his subjects, and never curbed himself in a single caprice, or denied himself in a single indulgence, in requital of their loyalty and affection. In the latter years of his life, he acted as a dishonourable tool of England, and was willing to have exchanged, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of Scotland, bought by his heroic father at the expense of so many sufferings, which terminated in his ruined health and premature death." King David left the Scottish throne open to the succession of his nephew, Robert, the first of the royal race of Stuarts, whose destinies have been so renowned in the annals of beauty and misfortune.

¹ Balfour's Scotland, vol. i., p. 123. Duff's Scotland, p. 24.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 919, 920, 942, 980.

ISABELLA,

THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III.

CHAPTER V.

Daughters of Edward III.—Birth of Isabella—Her cradles—Queen's *Relevailles*—Governess and attendants of the princess—Removes to York—Visit to Peterborough monastery—Isabella accompanies her father abroad—Battle of Helvoetsluys—Returns to England with Joanna—Their residence in the Tower—Return of the king and queen—Nursery revels—Visits to Langley—Tournament at Dunstaple—Marriage negotiations—Proposals of Louis of Flanders—Edward endeavours to secure the province for his son—Murder of Artevelde—Flemings renew proposals for marriage—Isabella accompanies her mother to Calais—Earl Louis refuses to marry her—Is imprisoned by his subjects—Feigns a consent—Betrothal of Louis and Isabella—The earl escapes to France and marries a princess of Brabant—Isabella returns to England—Present at tournaments—Her alms—Falls in love with Bernard d'Albret—King consents to their union—Preparations for it—Breach of contract—Isabella's offerings—Liberality of her father—Her extravagant habits—Present at the wedding of the Black Prince—Captivity of King John of France—Ingelram de Coucy, one of the hostages for his ransom—Nobility of the Coucy family—Gallantry of young Ingelram—Edward's kindness to him—He is introduced at court—Wins the affections of Isabella—Their marriage-settlements—Nuptials—De Coucy and Isabella go to France—Château de Coucy—Birth of a daughter—Ingelram made Earl of Bedford—Generosity of the king—Isabella contracts debts—Birth of Philippa de Coucy at Eltham—Her baptism—Gift of the county of Soissons to Ingelram—He and Isabella go to France—War between France and England—De Coucy's embarrassment—Goes to Italy—His lands left undisturbed—Isabella returns to England—Alice Perrers—The princess retires from court—Betrothal of Philippa de Coucy—Truce between France and England—Return of Ingelram—Isabella joins him in France—He claims his allodial rights in Austria—His campaign—Isabella

again in England—Made a Lady of the Garter—Residence at court—De Coucy inclines to French interest—Isabella returns to him, but is sent back again—Death of Edward III.—Isabella goes again to France—War between France and England—De Coucy abandons his English alliance—Separates from his wife—She returns to England—His lands forfeited—She appeals to parliament—Provided for by Richard II.—Lives in seclusion—Her death—Interment—Philippa de Coucy—Chivalric career of Ingelram—His knightly character—Second marriage—Monument to Isabella.

WITH the daughters of King Edward III., we enter upon a happier epoch in the biographies of the English princesses. The political marriages of both his sisters terminated so unhappily, that the young king seems to have been taught a lesson, rarely learned by royalty, that maidens of kingly birth have hearts as well as hands to dispose of; and that it is well, in the arrangements of their life-long destinies, for the heart to be not altogether overlooked. Blessed himself with an unusual share of domestic felicity, the king was better able to appreciate its value. Through life he manifested a tender interest, not only in the advancement, but in the comfort, of his daughters; and, though he frequently projected for them alliances subservient to his own political interests, yet on no occasion did he thwart their inclinations, or sacrifice their wishes to his own.

The eldest of these daughters, the Princess Isabella, was born on the 16th of June, 1332¹, at the ancient

¹ It is difficult to ascertain the precise dates of the births of the numerous children of Edward III. From the Wardrobe Accounts, which often record entries relative to their births, and always mention the provision of their dresses, from the chroniclers of the time and other authorities, the following list has been compiled :

Edward,	born at	Woodstock,	June 15,	1330.
Isabella	„	Woodstock,	June 16,	1332.
Joanna	„	The Tower		1333.
William	„	Windsor		1334-5.
William	„	Hatfield		1336.
Lionel	„	Antwerp,	Nov. 29,	1338.
John	„	Ghent,	June	1340.
Edmund	„	Langley,	June	1341.

palace of Woodstock—so well known in the romance of history: it was a favourite residence of Queen Philippa, and had been already the birthplace of her eldest son, Edward the Black Prince. The palace of Clarendon was the place first intended for the queen's accommodation during her confinement, and had been put in order for the purpose; thither she removed early in the year 1332; but, as the summer advanced, a predilection for her sylvan abode induced her to pay a visit there; and thus, either accidentally or by design, Woodstock became the birthplace of her child¹.

The infant princess was ushered into the world with all the dignity due to her rank. She had two cradles; her great cradle, for state occasions, was lined with taffeta, profusely gilded, and decorated with the arms of England and Hainault, and furnished, in spite of the summer warmth, with a coverlet composed of 670 skins². A tailor, John Bromley by name, was appointed for her particular service, before she was quite a month old; and, thanks to his skill, when the little lady made her public appearance, at the "*relevailles*" or "uprising" of the queen,

Mary, born at	Waltham, Oct. 10,	1344.
Margaret	„ Windsor, July 21,	1346.
Thomas	„ Windsor	1348.
Thomas	„ Woodstock, Jan. 7,	1354.

The authorities are, *Compotus Garderobæ Reginae Philippæ*, 6 Edw. III., Cotton. MS., Galba, E. iii., ff. 179, 180, 181. *Liberate Roll*, 12 Edw. III., m. 10. *Wardrobe Accounts*, 6 Edw. III., and 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., *Queen's Rem. Wardrobe Accounts*, 4 Edw. II. to 11 Edw. III. Cotton. MS., Nero, C. viii., f. 212 b. *Annales Luculenti*, Cotton. MS., Nero, D. ii., f. 206 b. Cotton. MS., Galba, E. vii., f. 182 b., col. 2. *Robert of Reading*, Harl. MS., 682, ff. 282 b., 297. *Cont. Paris*, vol. ii., p. 2560. *Adam of Murimuth*, p. 415. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 829, 1102. *Chron. ad ann. 1346*, Cotton. MS., Cleop. D. ii., f. 206 b. *Knighton*, col. 2597.

¹ *Close Roll*, 5 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 5. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 829. *Liberate Roll*, 11 Edw. III., m. 10. *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, p. 59.

² *Pipe Roll*, 6 Edw. III., *Wardrobe Fragment*, *Queen's Rememb.* The price of this cradle was 16*l*. The state-cradle of Prince Edward was painted with designs of the four evangelists.

as it was called in those days, she was attired in a rich robe of Lucca silk, with four rows of "garnitures," and edged with costly furs. The queen, as was then customary, received the compliments of the court, reclining upon a state-bed, the coverlet of which, made expressly for the occasion, was of green velvet, seven and a half ells long and eight wide, embroidered all over with the device of a merman and a mermaid, bearing the shields of England and Hainault. She wore a robe of red and purple velvet embroidered with pearls¹. Her ladies of the bed-chamber all appeared in new attire, purchased for the occasion; and the whole of the queen's household, from the treasurer and chancellor down to the lowest kitchen servant, were similarly provided for, with a liberality that evinced the determination of the king that every one who surrounded his infant daughter should share in the joy her birth afforded to himself².

Isabella was immediately placed under the guardianship of the Lady Elizabeth of St. Omer³, mistress and keeper of her brother, Prince Edward, who, with her husband, William St. Omer, received a pension of 25*l.* a year, for faithful attendance upon the royal children⁴. A damsel, named Joanna Gaunbun, was appointed to the post of rocker, and had a pallet-bed provided, that she might sleep near the cradle of the royal infant⁵. She received 10*l.* a-year, and a similar salary was given to

¹ Wardrobe Acct., 6 Edw. III., Queen's Rememb.

² *Compotus Garderobæ Reginae Philippæ*, Cotton. MS., Galba, E. iii.; mis-stated in the catalogue to be a Wardrobe Account of Eleanora, wife of Edward I. The list of the robes provided at this time, gives a fair idea of the household of the queen. Her officers and attendants, classified according to their respective stations, amounted to one hundred and sixty in number, many of whom were her own countrymen; ff. 182 b. 187.

³ Probably identical with St. Maur, a baronial family in the time of Edward III.

⁴ *Liberate Roll*, 12 Edw. III., m. 5.

⁵ *Comp. Garderobæ Reg. Phil.*, ut sup., f. 189.

Joanna Pyebrook, another maiden; both of whom remained many years in the service of the princess¹.

The infancy of Isabella was carefully tended by her mother, whose affectionate assiduity, in her nursery cares, presented a strong contrast to the maternal indifference of her predecessor, Isabella of France. For awhile the queen resided with her infant family at Clarendon; but, in the spring of 1333, she left them for a short time. During her absence, the officers of the household indulged in a degree of licence that brought upon them the severe reprimand of the king. On the plea that they were inadequately furnished with funds, they seized, from the neighbouring peasantry the necessary provisions for the establishment of the royal children, without paying for them. The complaints of the people were carried to King Edward, who instantly supplied the sum of 500*l.* to discharge arrears; and forbade, in the strictest manner, a repetition of proceedings which involved not himself only, but his children, in disgrace². Soon afterwards the royal family removed to York castle, where needful repairs were made, and fresh rooms built for their accommodation; and here they resided the greater part of the summer, in order to be near the king, who was engaged in the Scottish war³.

In the year 1335, we find Prince Edward, with his two sisters,—for Isabella had now a companion of her own sex, in her little sister Joanna—spending nearly two months, from the latter end of June to the beginning of August, at the Abbey of Peterborough. By what chance the queen came to inflict her nursery upon these venerable fathers, to the sore disturbance of their monastic repose, our chroniclers record not. But certain it is, that the worthy abbot, Adam de Botheby, counterbalancing the annoyance with the honour of the visit, entertained his

¹ Rot. Lib., 12 Edw. III., mm. 3, 8. Pell Roll, 22 Edw. III., Easter.

² Rot. Lib., 7 Edw. III., m. 3. ³ Close Roll, 7 Edw. III., pt. 1 m. 11.

juvenile guests to the best of his ability, not only giving them treats on feast-days, but dismissing them with handsome presents in jewellery¹.

During the two or three subsequent years, we find little of interest to record concerning the young princess and her sister. They resided with their brother, Prince Edward, still under the *surveillance* of St. Omer and his lady. They were maintained in considerable state: their robes of scarlet and grey cloth, furred, and profusely ornamented with buttons of gold thread or of silver, were punctually provided at the recurrence of each religious festival; in the olden times, it was not the change of season or the caprice of fashion that dictated the replenishment of a lady's wardrobe, but the recurrence of the church festivals, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, All Saints' day, &c., when all that could afford it appeared in new robes. On one occasion, the tailor of the princesses committed a woeful blunder: forgetting or miscalculating the rapidity of their growth, he made their dresses of too small a size, and was obliged to measure them afresh for another suit. Young as they were, we find mention of their plate and jewels, of the apparatus for their chapel, in priestly vestments and linen, and of their chaplain².

In the year 1338, King Edward, about to make Flanders the seat of the war he was commencing in support of his claim to the crown of France, took his queen and younger daughter with him abroad³; Prince Edward and the Princess Isabella were left behind in the Tower, under the care of the Lady St. Omer.

¹ Sparke, *Scriptores Varii*, Hist. Cœnobii Petroburgensis, p. 231. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i., p. 360.

² *Wardrobe Acct.*, 18—24 Edw. III., Queen's Rem.

³ *Annales Luculenti*, Cotton. MS., Nero, D. ii., f. 205 b. Trevisa's Higden, Harl. MS., 1900, f. 309. Chron. Brute, Lamb. MS., 99, f. 49 b., col. 1. 500*l.* were allowed to the queen for the purchase of saddles, silver vases, zones, purses, silk, and jewels to take with her. Close Roll, 12 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 14. One chronicler only speaks of *both* the Princesses as accompanying their parents. Harl. MS., 543, f. 5b.

In February 1340, the king came to England on a short visit, leaving the queen and her infant son at Ghent, as pledges for his good faith, under the care of the Duke of Brabant; and Isabella, pining, it would seem, at her long separation from her beloved mother, obtained permission to accompany him on his return¹. They were attended by a long train of English noble ladies, who accompanied them to pay a visit to their long-absent queen.

The cheerful aspect of this voyage was soon changed. King Philip of France had collected a tremendous fleet in the harbour at Helvoetsluys, in order to intercept the king on his passage; and on the 24th of June, two days after the English had set sail, they came in sight of a forest of masts. The king asked what they could be, and the captain of his ship replied that they must be the French fleet, which had burned his good town of Southampton, taken his large ship, the *Christopher*, and otherwise done damage to the English. "Ha!" exclaimed the king, "I have long wished to meet with them, and now, by the help of God and St. George, we will fight them; for, in truth, they have done me so much mischief, that I will be revenged on them if possible²."

Before the commencement of the fight, Edward selected three hundred brave men-at-arms, and five hundred archers, who were specially appointed to guard his daughter and the ladies. Yet, notwithstanding this protection, great must have been their terror when vessel grappled to vessel; men-at-arms engaged hand to hand; the arrows of the archers and cross-bow men darkening the air, and the stunning shouts of the combatants blending with the clang of the trumpets and the groanings of the wounded.

The combat was murderous and terrible, lasting from

¹ This is gathered from several allusions in the Wardrobe Accounts, which afford negative evidence that Isabella was *not* with her parents when they went abroad, and positive proof that she returned *from* Ghent with her sister in 1340.

² Cott. MS., Cleop., A. vi., fol. 90. Cron. Lond., ad ann. 1343.

early morning until noon. The French fleet far outnumbered that of the English¹; but victory decided in favour of King Edward, who had displayed great personal valour. The king remained on ship-board some days longer, cruizing off the shore, so as to prevent any rallying of the French fleet; and when, at length, his vessel harboured in the Sluys, "there were great noises, with trumpets and other martial instruments, to celebrate the triumph²."

The following day the king landed; and, after going on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to our lady of Ardenburg, joined the queen at Ghent, where the joy of the princess and her mother at their re-union was enhanced by the recollection of recent perils³.

Their enjoyment of each other's society however was only temporary: the queen herself had been placed in perilous circumstances, during her lord's absence, owing to an attack made by Philip of Valois⁴; and King Edward thought it advisable to diminish, rather than increase, his family cares abroad. His infant boys, Lionel and John, were still too young to quit their mother's side, but he sent away the two princesses, Isabella and Joanna, to London, and ordered them to be safely lodged in the Tower. They reached England on the 5th of August, 1340⁵, and, from this time, until the marriage and early

¹ The English had 300 ships, and the French 500 large vessels. French Chron. London, edited for the Camden Society, by G. J. Aungier, Esq., p. 76. Anc. Chron. de Fland., Cotton. MS., Nero, E. iii., p. 190., Cott. MS., Jul., E. vi., f. 125 b.

² It is reported that the defeat at Sluys was so disastrous to the French fleet, that, for a length of time, no one ventured to break the tidings to King Philip. At length his fool undertook the task, and began to rail at the English, as arrant cowards. "How so?" asked the king. "Because they had not the courage to leap into the sea, like the French and Normans at Sluys," was the reply, which was only too well understood. *History of Edward the Black Prince*, 8, Lond. 1776, p. 52. *Walsingham*, p. 134.

³ Froissart, vol. i., pp. 207-211.

⁴ See page 240, *infra*.

⁵ Wardrobe Fragment, 14-15 Edw. III., Queen's Rem. Their travelling expenses, from Ghent to London, were 57*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*

death of Joanna, the sisters were seldom separated. Some particulars of more than usual interest, relating to the royal maidens, then at the respective ages of eight and seven years, are extracted from the account of the comptroller of the household of the king's children, still in preservation¹, and also from their wardrobe-roll for the same period².

“To Peter of the chamber, bearing the letters of the Lady de la Mote, mistress of the king's children, to their dearest father and mother 5s.

“To John Marle, one of the valets-de-chambre of the Ladies Isabella and Joanna, bearing their letters and those of the Lady de la Mote to the queen in Flanders, by their own hands, September 1st 16s. 8d.

“To John the bargeman, and his companion mariners, rowing in their boats the Ladies Isabella and Joanna, with their attendants, across the Thames, and leading them into the gardens, by their gift, with their own hands, September 17th 12s.

“To Richard Crewe, valet of the Countess of Arundel, coming from the parts of Sussex, and bringing to the king's children four beasts of chase, September 24th; gift to him on his departure 3s. 4d.

“For two coins, engraved on one side with a crucifix, and on the other side with an Agnus Dei, bought for the daily offerings of the Ladies Isabella and Joanna 2s.

“For the offerings of the Ladies Isabella and Joanna, from the 6th of August to the 28th of October, each offering one penny per day, by the hands of the Lady de la Mote, their governess 14s.

“To Gerard de Gay, the minstrel of the king's children, in money given to him by them, and also for a winter coat, given him by their own hands, November 4th 6s. 8d.

¹ Wardrobe Accts., No. 36, Queen's Rem.

² Ibid., No. 1732, Queen's Rem.

“To the valet of the Bishop of Carlisle, coming from his master at Horncastle, and presenting to the Ladies Isabella and Joanna two young hares; as their gift on his departure 3s. 4d.

“To Thomas de Bastenthwaite, valet-de-chambre of the Lady Isabella, for leading her palfrey whenever she rode between London and Westminster, for a winter coat to be bought for him, as the gift of his mistress . . . 5s.”

They presented winter shoes to their clerk of the chapel, their valets-de-chambre, their water-carrier, candle-bearer, porters, &c.; and they contributed towards the expenses of the funeral of one of their kitchen servants, who was interred at the chapel of Berking, in Essex.

These extracts afford pleasing illustrations of the mode of life of the young princesses, and bring them before us in so much of the detail of domestic privacy, that we may almost accompany them in fancy, as they amble on their valet-led palfreys from ancient London to ancient Westminster, or glide along the smooth banks of the Thames to the gardens on the opposite side, or amuse themselves with their young hares or “beasts of chase,” or with their favourite minstrel within the walls of their fortress abode. We learn also the scale on which their establishment was kept up. In addition to the domestics already named, two chaplains, esquires, clerks of the pantry and butlery, a chief cook, a valet of the larder and kitchen, another of the hall and chamber, three damsels, attendant upon Isabella¹, and two upon Joanna,—who had also two inferior attendants, called *sub*-damsels,—are mentioned². These records show not only the attention the royal children were thus early taught to pay to the wants of others, but also the courteous condescension with which

¹ One of these was called Alexia de la Mote, probably a daughter or niece of the Lady de la Mote. She remained many years with the princess. *Pell Roll*, 33 *Edw. III.*, *Mich.*

² *Household Roll*, ut sup., No. 36. *Wardrobe Roll* of the king's children, 14 and 15 *Edw. III.*, No. 1732, *Queen's Rem.*

they sometimes enhanced the value of their gifts, by presenting them with their own hands to the recipients. Among the household purchases made for them, were a tripod of iron for their chandlery, an iron ladle for melting the wax for the candles, and several leathern hampers bound with iron, in which to keep the silver plates and dishes from which they were usually served¹. Their beds were covered with green silk,—mattresses, bolsters and all,—and the cushions for their chambers with green velvet. The entries for their dresses are numerous; but the only novelties recorded are hosen made of scarlet cloth, worn by both the young ladies, and a peculiar garment made of green cloth, cut and sewed after the German fashion, and furred, which was sent to each as a present from the queen their mother².

In December 1340, King Edward returned to England with his queen, somewhat unexpectedly, and found the Tower in a defenceless state, owing to the negligence of the constable, Nicolas de la Bèche. He had been commanded to keep a perpetual guard round the fortress, and had twenty men-at-arms and fifty archers assigned him for the purpose³, but he was absent from his post; the guards had taken similar licence, and the royal children were exposed to some risk, being left with only three servants.⁴ On his landing, the king immediately sent a

¹ Household Roll, ut sup.

² Wardrobe Acct., ut sup.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1102.

⁴ Walsingham, p. 132. The chronicler of London thus details these circumstances:—"And the night after St. Andrew's day, the king, with his company, arrived on shore, and with lighted torches entered the Tower of London, where none knew of his coming. And he immediately asked for Sir Nicholas de la Bèche, then Constable of the Tower, and guardian of the duke, son of the King of England. And the sub-constable fell on his knees at the king's feet and said, 'Sir, he is out of town.' At which the king was very angry; so he commanded at once to open the doors throughout, that he might see all the things that were within the Tower." Edited for the Camden Society, by G. J. Aungier, Esq., p. 83. See also *Chron. Brute*, Cott. MS., Vitel., A. xx., f. 53 b., and *Chron. Lond.* Ibid., Vitel., A. xvi., f. 18.

messenger to inform the Princess Isabella of his arrival in England; and, child as she was, she seems to have been conscious that affairs were not in a condition to meet the eye of her royal sire, and anxious, if possible, to screen her officers from blame; for she used the utmost dispatch in communicating to them the tidings of the king's approach. The following entry appears in the household roll:

“To John Poleyn, bearing the king's letters under his own seal, announcing his arrival in England, and bearing the letters of the Lady Isabella to the Earl of Huntingdon, with *the greatest haste*; and to John Knight, bearing the letters of the king and the Lady Isabella, with *the greatest haste*, to the Earl of Arundel 13s. 4d.”

Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, was at this time admiral of the western seas, and William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, was Admiral of the Thames, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; both were therefore concerned in receiving early tidings of their lord's return¹.

The storm of the royal displeasure did not long disturb the serenity of the domestic group; the king and queen, with their infant boys, took up their temporary abode in the Tower to share in the festivities of the Christmas season with their daughters. On the 21st of December, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, they had high mass performed in the Tower chapel, at which the singing of four monks of the Augustine order so charmed the ears of the little princesses, that they sent for the musical friars and presented them with a special alms. On the 9th of January, 1341, the king gave his children a festive entertainment in their own apartments, which he graced with his presence; and his minstrel, Godenal, was summoned to “make minstrelsy” for the amusement of the juvenile rompers. At their father's command the prin-

¹ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i., pp. 317, 531.

cesses rewarded the minstrel with a present of 6s. 8d. What were the dishes provided for this feast we know not, excepting that one consisted of a species of apple, called "garnet apples," which a poor man presented to the princesses. Either their fruit or their dissipation produced a deleterious effect on their health; for we very shortly find that "Master Philip, the physician," had to be summoned to make medicines for them. These they received with their wonted grace, and presented him with a gift in addition to his fees¹.

Towards the close of January, the king and queen left London; Philippa took up her abode at Langley, whilst her daughters still remained at the Tower. The distance being short, they were able to pay her occasional visits². Their passage through London was, each time, signalized by alms bestowed on the poor people on the road, and also on the prisoners of Newgate, given by their almoner as they passed the gloomy walls of the prison. On one of these occasions, they stopped at the nunnery of Kilburn, where refreshments were provided for them by the courtesy of the nuns, and repaid, on the part of the princesses, by a special donation to the convent³.

When the returning spring rendered a change of air desirable, the princesses were removed from their Tower residence, and sent to Stratford⁴. Their journey thither was characterized by their wonted almsgivings. On Palm Sunday, they listened to a set oration, delivered by one of

¹ Household Aect., ut sup.

² These were on the 10th and 16th of February and 21st of March. *Ibid.*

³ By a patent of 1253, this convent was acquitted of all tithes and taxations whatever, for all lands and tenements, goods and chattels it had or might hereafter possess. No remains of it are now in existence, but the site is still distinguishable from the tea-drinking gardens called Kilburn Wells. *Monast. Anglic.*, vol. iii., p. 22.

⁴ Probably Stratford Langthorne, in Essex. It is called Stratford *Monachorum*, and there was an abbey at Stratford Langthorne, whereas at Stratford Bow there was a house for nuns, but none for monks. *Monast. Anglic.*, vol. iv., p. 119, vol. vi., p. 586.

the friars preachers, whom they rewarded for his performance; and, at the same time, honoured the festival by providing a plentiful dinner for twenty-four poor people. On Whit Sunday, they attended public service at the conventual church of Stratford, and presented their offerings in person, at the great crucifix¹.

At this date, the accounts from which we have quoted, cease. On the 19th of May, the same year, King Edward granted all the revenues, lands, and appurtenances belonging to John, late Duke of Bretagne and Earl of Richmond, which were situated in England, and which, "for certain causes," he had taken into his own hands, for the support of Lionel, John, Isabella, and Joanna, his very dear children². The value of this grant was estimated at 1000*l.* per annum, and the money was intrusted to the queen, their mother; from which we may presume that they returned to reside with her³.

The next year, 1342, the princesses made their first recorded public appearance, at a tournament, held by King Edward, at Dunstaple, which was largely attended by the English nobility, including the Earls of Derby, Warwick, Pembroke, and many others⁴. The presence of the king's daughters probably formed an attraction to the youthful chivalry of England. They were attired in robes so gorgeously embroidered, that eighteen workmen had been employed, for nine days, in their manufacture, under the supervision of John of Cologne, the king's armour-bearer, and eleven ounces of leaf-gold were bestowed upon them⁵.

¹ Household Roll, *ut sup.*

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1160. These "certain causes" were the contests for the succession to the earldom of Bretagne, in which King Edward was taking a part, and which will be more fully entered upon in a succeeding memoir.

³ Abbrev. Rot. Orig., p. 148 b.

⁴ Chron. Brute, Lamb. MS., 99, fol. 51, col. 1. Cotton. MS., Vitell. A. xvi., f. 18 b. Harl. MS., 266, fol. 68 b.

⁵ Wardrobe Roll, 16 Edw. III., No. 660, Queen's Rem.

Soon after this time, another associate was added to the sister princesses, in the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster, a descendant of their royal grandfather, Edward I.; her vast inheritance had tempted the king to contract her in marriage to his second son, Lionel¹, then an infant in his third year, and she was brought up with the king's daughters². The Christmas of 1343 was spent by the king and queen, surrounded by all their children, at Woodstock, and celebrated with great festivity³.

Edward III. was partial to early match-making for his children, though probably his proposals were often made rather as political *ruses*, to meet his emergencies for the moment, than with any definite purpose of fulfilment. In June 1335, when Isabella had just completed her third year, a marriage was treated of between her and Peter, afterwards surnamed the Cruel, eldest son of Alphonso, King of Castile⁴; but this very undesirable suitor was afterwards transferred to her younger sister Joanna⁵. The following year, the king sailed for the continent; and no sooner had he reached Flanders, than Louis, Earl of Flanders, who in the preceding year had been negotiating the union of his young son, Louis, with the Princess Joanna⁶, came to visit him, and to put in a

¹ Patent Roll, 20 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 9.

² Wardrobe Book, 17 Edw. III., Queen's Rem. The Wardrobe Book, 17—19 Edw. III., among the Chapter-House Documents, now at the Rolls House, marked A. v., 10, f. 169, records a gift of 20 marks to Libekin, the piper, and his companions, making minstrelsy before the king and queen at the Tower of London, at the nuptials of Prince Lionel.

³ Walsingham, p. 149.

⁴ Patent Roll, 9 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 1.

⁵ Great confusion exists in the State Rolls, in the marriage negotiations between the two princesses. Peter of Castile, Frederick of Austria, and Louis of Flanders, are named as alternately plighted to each. See *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 910, 915, 929, 940. Probably the confusion arose from the use of the initial letter only, on the original patents, which the enrolling copyist might lengthen into either Isabella or Joanna.

⁶ German Roll, 11 Edw. III., m. 3.

claim for the elder instead of the younger daughter¹; a distinction of some consequence, since, from 1332 to 1338, except during the brief life-time of two infant brothers, Isabella stood the second in succession to the crown of England. The treaty with the Earl of Flanders proceeded favourably, until the year 1340²; but afterwards, Edward, in conjunction with the celebrated James von Arteveld, the brewer of Ghent, a warm partisan of the English interests, actually made an attempt to displace the Earl of Flanders, and to have his own son, the Black Prince, elected earl in his stead³. The pride of the Flemings resented such a proposal; and it ultimately caused the murder of Arteveld by his fellow-citizens, on July 17, 1345⁴.

During this interval, all marriage negotiations had been relinquished between the daughter of King Edward and the son of the nobleman whom he was thus endeavouring to supplant; and, meanwhile, a suitor from another quarter had offered himself to Isabella. In the year 1344, application was made to the Pope, to grant a dispensation for her marriage with the eldest son of the Duke of Brabant, who, being a descendant of Margaret, daughter of Edward I., was within the prohibited limits of consanguinity.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 998, 1063. *Pat. Homag. Ang. et Vasc.*, 13 Edw. III., mm. 9, 6.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 1097, 1106. The last document relating to it bears date January 4, 1340.

³ The pretext for this usurpation by Edward III. was the refusal of the Earl of Flanders to recognize him as King of France. *Examen Historique des Historiens de Jacques von Artevelde*, A. Voisin, 8vo. Gand, 1841, p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33—41. M. Voisin disclaims the title of "the brewer," generally assigned to Arteveld as a mere nickname, and represents him as a man of independent property, who, following a custom that every citizen, in whatever position of life, should have his name inscribed in some trade, was chosen patron of the Brewers' Company—whence his *sobriquet*." *Ibid.*, p. 126. Another writer speaks of his having married the widow of a brewer. *Anc. Chron. de Fland.*, Cotton. MS., Nero, E. iii., f. 182.

In the autumn of 1345, the Flemings, fearful lest the murder of Arteveld might draw down upon them the wrath of King Edward, sent a deputation from each of their principal towns to deprecate his vengeance; and to assure him that the murder had been committed on account of a certain report having reached the citizens, that Arteveld was plotting with King Edward, to depose the Earl of Flanders, their natural lord, and cede the province to the Prince of Wales¹. "But, dear Sire," added the imploring burghers, "you have a fine family of sons and daughters. The Prince of Wales, your eldest son, cannot fail of being a great prince, with an ample inheritance, without desiring that of Flanders; and you have a young daughter; we have, also, a young lord, whom we are bringing up and taking care of, that will be Lord of Flanders: it perhaps may be that a marriage could be brought about between them, so that the county of Flanders will, in the end, be possessed by one of your children."

This courteous speech softened the anger of King Edward, and induced him to forgive the murder of his friend². The projects of the Flemings, however, were thwarted by the Earl of Flanders himself, whose subservience to French influence made him now regard, with increasing dislike the proposed connexion with England. Philip of France, in order to secure his allegiance, and, as far as possible, that of his expected successor, pre-

¹ Choisy, *Histoire de Philippe de Valois*, p. 146.

² Johnes' *Froissart*, vol. ii., p. 102. This chronicler, having been the secretary of Queen Philippa, may be considered good authority for affairs relating to her family, since he presented the early part of his chronicles to her, and would thus be able to correct any errors from her own communications. He tells us that, under the protection of this good lady and at her cost, he has searched the greater part of Christendom, and has made inquiries, wherever he came, for such "ancient knights and squires" as had been present at the several battles, also for heralds of good repute, to verify and confirm what he had heard, and in this manner had collected materials for his noble history. *Introduction to Johnes' Froissart*, p. ix.

vailed upon the earl to send his young son to the French court, where he was educated with the children of the king, and acquired, thus early, those strong French predilections, to which we shall have occasion to refer by and bye¹. In 1346, Earl Louis fell a sacrifice to his French alliance; he was one of the nobles slain at the battle of Crecy, where his young son fought by his side.

Shortly after this great battle, Queen Philippa,—wreathed with the laurels she had earned by the defeat of the Scots at the battle of Neville's Cross, which was accomplished chiefly through her influence,—joined her victorious lord beneath the walls of Calais, taking with her the Princess Isabella, and a large train of the female nobility of England, who gladly embraced the opportunity of a temporary reunion with their husbands, fathers, or brothers, engaged in the siege. They landed at Calais on the 28th of October. Such an influx of royal and illustrious dames, headed by the queen and the princess, caused no little excitement in the chivalrous camp of Edward III. The king welcomed them with magnificent entertainments²; and Isabella, at the romance-loving age of fourteen, found herself plunged at once into scenes of courtly gaiety; whilst the skirmishings between the hosts, within and without Calais, presented to her view a picture of the stern realities of war very different to the representations she had witnessed in the gorgeous pageantry of the tournaments.

On the arrival of his daughter, King Edward, to whom the adherence of the Flemings was of great importance in the prosecution of his military enterprise, sought, by every means in his power, to cement an alliance with them by the marriage of the young Louis—become, since the death of his father, Earl of Flanders—and the Lady Isabella. To accomplish this object, he went over from Calais to Ghent; and, assembling the burgesses of the city,

¹ Johnes' Froissart, vol. ii., p. 103.

² Froissart, vol. ii., p. 200.

then one of the most important in Flanders, urged his proposal upon them, by an enumeration of the commercial advantages they were likely to derive from it. The prudent burghers, having, on mature calculation, decided that the alliance of England would be more advantageous to them than that of France, acceded to the proposition, which "mightily rejoiced the king, for he imagined that by this marriage he would easily govern that country;" and he returned with a glad heart to Calais¹. But the good citizens soon found that they had been reckoning without their host. Their young earl had been for some time a resident in France, and was still a mourner for his father, whose death scene, which he personally witnessed, had made a strong impression upon him. Whilst he was at Paris, the influence of the French King was exerted in behalf of a marriage between Louis and a daughter of the Duke of Brabant, now a partisan of the French interest, for whom, say the Flemish historians, the earl had conceived an ardent attachment². Several of the principal towns of Flanders were won over to favour this union, and they sent to request the return of the young earl, promising him greater rights of sovereignty than had ever been enjoyed by an Earl of Flanders. He gave a willing consent, and, after some delay, returned to his subjects, who received him with great joy, and made him many rich presents.

In the meantime, a strong counter-movement had been at work. No sooner did the English King obtain information of this partial ascendancy of French influence, than he dispatched the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, and Lord Reginald Cobham, into Flanders; and they managed matters so dexterously with the leading men and with the civic corporations, that they soon brought the whole province to the conviction that the

¹ Ancien Chron. de Fland., Cotton. MS., Nero, E. iii., f. 219.

² Choisy, Hist. de Philippe de Valois, p. 178.

union of their earl with the English princess would be greatly more advantageous to the country, than that with the daughter of the Duke of Brabant. But though the Flemish nobles affectionately urged the proposal upon Earl Louis, and supported it by arguments so forcible that the opposing party was silenced, yet they could not succeed in winning the consent of their prince. The blood-stained field of Crecy, with his father expiring as a victim to the conquering arms of Edward I., ever haunted his mental vision; and, notwithstanding their fair speeches and arguments, he declared, in the strongest terms, that were the half of England offered him as her dower, he would never marry the daughter of one whom he looked upon as his father's murderer.

The discontented Flemings retired from his presence, murmuring that their lord was too much of a Frenchman and very ill-advised, and warning him that, since he would not listen to their counsels, he must expect no good from them. They kept their word, and now tried a less gentle fashion of bending the stubborn will of their young earl, by arresting him and confining him a close prisoner, until he should accede to their wishes. The guards placed over him were selected from among the most strenuous adherents of the English faction; who, although they allowed their prisoner every indulgence, and even permitted him to enjoy the recreation of hawking, of which he was particularly fond, set a close watch upon him, of persons whose lives were to be the penalty of his escape, and whose *surveillance* sometimes greatly interfered with his personal comfort. This strange mode of wooing was at last crowned with seeming success. Wearied with the tedium of a captivity, which he had endured for awhile with patience and firmness, the young earl declared himself prepared to accede to the wishes of his subjects, by marrying the English princess. The delighted Flemings communicated the tidings to King Edward

and his queen, who were gratified by their zeal and success, and declared that "the Flemings were a very good sort of people¹."

The 14th of March, 1347, was the day fixed upon for Edward and Philippa to conduct their daughter to the monastery of Bergues, St. Vinoc, there to meet the young nobleman who had been so pertinaciously reluctant to accept her as his bride. The Flemish nobles, in honourable numbers, conducted Earl Louis, with great pomp, to the appointed place of rendezvous, where he was introduced to the king and queen and the young princess, and saluted them with respectful dignity.

Anxious to efface from the mind of his son-in-law elect the painful impressions which he had entertained in reference to his father's fate, King Edward took him gently by the hand, and, leading him aside, assured him, as he hoped for the help of God, that he was personally free from any share in the death of the Earl of Flanders, and that he had not even been aware of his presence in the field of Crecy, until the day but one after the battle. With this explanation Louis professed himself satisfied, and a discussion then ensued upon the subject of the marriage². The chancellor of Louis came forward and presented letters to the king, duly sealed, and dated from Dunkirk, the preceding day, by which Louis declared that, since a treaty of marriage between himself and the Lady Isabella had formerly been drawn up by the earl, his late father, and King Edward, and had lately been renewed by the council of the king on one side, and by his own relatives and the good people of his good towns of Flanders on the other, and concluded on both sides; he, seeing the evident profit to his land of Flanders, and the love, peace, repose, and tranquillity which would result from this marriage,

¹ A chronicler in Leland's *Collectanea* speaks of the Earl of Flanders as "*practising* with the king to have his daughter Isabella;" but Froissart's details render it evident that the "*practising*" was altogether on the other side.

² Froissart, vol. ii., pp. 205, 206.

consented thereto, and promised "loyally and of good faith," solemnly to betroth himself to the said Lady Isabel, and to marry her, in the face of the holy church, within a fortnight after the approaching Easter. He assigned her a dower of 10,000 Parisian livres annually, from lands in Flanders, and also secured to her the lands of Ponthieu, Montreuil, and Pervost Chatel, then in the hands of her father, who had promised to yield them, or their equivalent, in her favour¹. In return for this settlement, the king guaranteed to the young couple the sum of 40,000 golden deniers, as his daughter's wedding portion².

The preliminary arrangements being thus satisfactorily concluded, the ceremony of betrothal was performed, in the presence of the king and queen, of the English council who had attended them, and of the Flemish nobles. The marriage itself was postponed, for a short time, in order to give leisure to prepare for its fitting celebration. The company, therefore, separated; the Flemings conducted their young lord home; and the king and queen, with the princess, returned, in very good humour, to Calais, where Isabella's parents busied themselves in providing rich garments and jewellery to distribute as presents on the wedding-day. In this occupation the queen showed great eagerness, "being anxious," says our chronicler, "to acquit herself on the occasion with honour and generosity." King Edward, who seems to have had some suspicions about the state of the affections of his elect son-in-law, was meanwhile eagerly urging on a marriage, which had long remained in

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114. The original marriage treaty between Louis and Isabella, on vellum, with the great seal of England, and the seals of Edward the Black Prince, Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the Earls of Suffolk, Northampton, and other noblemen, in beautiful preservation, is in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., No. 9967, as is also the settlement of 10,000 livres presented by Louis to Isabella. This original document is finely illuminated with figures and birds.

abeyance¹, between his son and heir, Prince Edward, and the Brabantine princess who was the rival of the Lady Isabella. The splendour of the proposed alliance led the Duke of Brabant to listen favourably to it, and messenger after messenger was sent to Rome to procure the requisite dispensation for its accomplishment².

Whilst Isabella was ruminating on her approaching nuptials, amidst the excitements of the siege of Calais, very different thoughts occupied the brain of her betrothed. Faithful in his attachment to the lady of Brabant, he was intent upon avoiding, if possible, an union to which neither the eloquence of King Edward, nor the attractions of his young *fiancée* had succeeded in reconciling him. He contrived, to tamper with the fidelity of two young knights of Ghent, who were amongst his guards, and to induce them to second a plan which he had formed for his escape into France. In order to lessen the vigilance of his keepers, he professed perfect satisfaction with the English alliance, made no attempt to renew a correspondence with France, and diverted himself, as usual, with his favourite amusement of hawking.

At length, the very week arrived in which the marriage was to take place; when, one day, the 18th of April, the earl went out a hawking as usual; the falconer let fly at a heron, and the earl did the same; the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying "hoye, hoye," as he was wont to do, to his birds. He thus gained a considerable distance in advance of his attendants, who were thrown completely off their guard by his recent behaviour; and, finding himself in the open fields, struck spurs into his horse, and dashed away with such speed that he was soon out of

¹ Roman Roll, 14 Edw. III., m. 2.

² Roman Roll, 19 Edward II., mm. 4, 3. The last messenger was sent on the 12th of April.

sight. He presently reached the banks of a river, where, at a pass called the ford of Fiennes, his two accomplice knights were in waiting, with ten or twelve swift horses, by the aid of which he quickly forded the stream, they attending him, and scarcely did they venture to draw bridle until they reached the boundaries of Flanders and crossed into Artois; thence they hastened to the French court, where Louis' prudence and ingenuity were warmly commended by King Philip. Great was the dismay of the baffled wardens, when, on following their young lord as quickly as, on foot, they were able, to the banks of the stream, they found out the *ruse* which had been played them; nor were the English king and queen less displeased at the escape of their plighted son-in-law; they accused him of betraying and deceiving them, but they manifested no resentment against the Flemings, convinced that the deed originated solely with the young earl himself¹. On his subsequent union with the object of his steadfast affection, Margaret of Brabant, which took place in July the same year, 1347, Louis sent prudent and handsome apologies to Edward for this breach of engagement, which the king, having no other resource left, condescended to accept².

Isabella herself seems to have been little affected by her disappointment, though her betrothed lord was one of the handsomest young noblemen of the day³. On her return to England with her parents, in October, after the capture of Calais, she mingled in all the gaieties of the court, and evinced a strong predilection for the excitement and display of military games. She was

¹ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 207. Ancien. Chron. de Fland., Cotton. MS., Nero, E. iii., ff. 219-224. This interesting MS. chronicle details these events more fully, in many respects, than Froissart, with whose account it coincides in all material points. A translation of this portion of it is printed in the Appendix, No. V.

² Froissart, vol. ii., p. 252. L'Art de Vérifier, vol. iii., p. 20, fol. edit.

³ Anc. Chron. de Fland., ut sup.

present at several tournaments, in the following year, 1348; amongst others, at a mock spear-fight, held at Lichfield, where she was attended by Lady Throxford, who appears to have occupied a post equivalent to that of maid of honour, and by several other ladies, all attired in hoods of blue orfray, richly furred. The king, the Earl of Lancaster, and thirty knights were the jousts on this occasion. Isabella was also present at a still more splendid tournament, held shortly afterwards, at Canterbury, at which we find that the princess and her ladies entered the city in masks¹. In 1349, she took her part in the most chivalrous festival of the English court, when Edward III. celebrated the feast of the Order of the Garter, while the queen and three hundred ladies and maidens, all clad in their richest attire, were spectators of the feats of arms performed by the noble combatants².

In the domestic circle, Isabella's age and position always entitled her to a pre-eminence over the younger princesses, the more marked, because her eldest surviving sister was thirteen years her junior. She had a larger number of attendants³, and was allowed a more liberal expenditure of money. She evinced a generous disposition, by employing her ample resources for the advantage of others, more frequently than for her own indulgence. In the month of April, this year, we find her offering at masses performed at the church of Chilterne-Langley, or King's Langley, in Hertfordshire, for the soul of her favourite lady in waiting, Isabella de Throxford, recently deceased, and interred in that church; and giving alms to

¹ Wardrobe Acct., 21—23 Edw. III., Roll 639, Queen's Rem. This Roll has been printed, under the able editorship of the late Sir Harris Nicolas, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii., pp. 1 et seq.

² An interesting commemoration of similar scenes is afforded by West's noble picture of the Institution of the Order of the Garter, in the Queen's Audience Chamber, Windsor Castle.

³ Wardrobe Book, 17, 18 Edw. III., Queen's Rem. She had seven bedchamber women, whilst Joanna had only three, and the youngest princess, Mary, but two.

thirteen poor people, a number which she frequently fixed upon for the reception of her benefactions¹. The following June, she distributed alms at St. Albans, and accompanied the queen, on several other occasions, for the exercise of religious benevolence². Indeed, Queen Philippa and her eldest daughter seem to have been rarely parted; and the queen is frequently found bestowing marks of her favour on those attendants of Isabella whose fidelity merited reward³.

In the year 1349, a proposition was made by King Edward to elevate his daughter to the imperial throne. The Marquis of Juliers was commissioned to exercise his skill in negotiation, and to procure for the princess an alliance with Charles of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, recently placed in undisputed possession of the crown of the Roman empire, and at that time a widower in his thirty-fourth year; but the proposal was not accepted⁴, and no further negotiations for the hand of the princess took place, until she herself evinced a will of her own in the matter.

There was a certain Gascon nobleman, named Bernard Ezi, Lord of Albret, who had long occupied important and confidential posts under Edward III., in his native province, of which he was appointed one of the royal lieutenants⁵; and had been frequently employed by him on diplomatic missions⁶, and distinguished by many

¹ In the Wardrobe Book, 17—18 Edw. III., Queen's Rem., William of Huntingdon, a merchant of London, was ordered to purchase thirty-two ells of Winchester cloth for chemises, to be given to thirteen poor women, by command of the Lady Isabella.

² Wardrobe Book, Queen Philippa, 23—24 Edw. III., ff. 11, 12. Chapter House documents, A. vi., 3, Rolls House.

³ Wardrobe Book, Queen Philippa, 23—24 Edw. III., ff. 14, 24, 29.

⁴ Patent Roll, 23 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 31. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. vii., p. 362.

⁵ Gascon Roll, 17 Edw. III., m. 3. *Pat. Homag. in Ang. et Vasc.*, Edw. III., m. 2.

⁶ Gascon Roll, 14 Edw. III., m. 3. *Ibid.*, 15, m. 29. *French Roll*, 16 Edw. III., mm. 42, 35.

tokens of royal favour¹. He had visited England, as one of the negotiators of the marriage between Joanna, the sister of Isabella, and the heir of Castile²; a marriage which had failed of consummation, owing to the death of the princess, as she was on her way to her affianced lord. This Bernard had a son, bearing his own name, remarkable for his chivalric valour and for his personal graces; and he, visiting the English court with his father, was fortunate enough to captivate the affections of the princess-royal. The king hesitated for some time, as well he might, to bestow his eldest daughter on the son of a Gascon lord, who had little besides his appearance to recommend him, and whose chief inheritance was his sword; but the constancy and entreaties of the young lover at last prevailed; and on the 1st of May, 1351, he issued the following singular letters-patent:

“The king to all, &c., greeting. Know that we, considering in grateful memory, the sincere love and solid fidelity which we have ever found in our faithful and dearest friend, the potent nobleman, Bernard Ezi, Lord of Albret, and with what constancy he has ever exposed himself for us, not avoiding either personal danger or the expenditure of his goods; and desiring to kindle in him and in his posterity, a closer attachment to our royal house, and to bind them more intimately to us; and considering the elegance of our beloved Bernard Ezi, eldest son and heir of the said Lord of Albret, and drawing from the laudable auspices of his youth, a good presage of future things, and hoping that the paternal excellence, happily propagated in him, will advance with pleasant increase; we have treated with the said Lord of Albret, his father, and have agreed with him, with mutually glad hearts, concerning a marriage between the said Bernard, son of the said Lord of Albret, and Isabella,

¹ Gascon Roll, 14 Edw. III., mm. 5, 6. Ibid., 15, m. 37, *et passim*.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1207.

our very dear eldest daughter, whom we have loved with special affection; to be contracted, by the grace of God, under a star of happy omen." The patent proceeds to state that "in order that the said Bernard, son of the said lord, may better discharge the obligations incumbent upon him and upon Isabella, the king has granted to him, for himself and his heirs, an annual revenue of 1000 marks sterling, or their equivalent, to be received by them when they shall be married, from the customs in the port of London, and from subsidies in wool and other things, every year, at the feasts of the Passover and St. Michael. If the said customs do not suffice for the payment of 1000 marks, that the said Bernard and Isabella, or either of them, whichever may survive the other, shall receive what is deficient, from the customs in the port of St. Botolph, or other ports," &c.¹

The object of her desires thus far accomplished, Isabella began, in good earnest, to make the requisite preparations for her ensuing marriage. It was originally intended that the bridal ceremony should take place at Windsor, and orders were actually issued for hanging the chapel with cloth of gold, and otherwise adorning it; but this idea was abandoned, in compliance, probably, with the wishes of the Lord of Albret, and the king consented that the marriage should be performed in Gascony.

The princess was anxious to appear as became a king's daughter, and the nuptial garments prepared for her were of the most costly description. A mantle of rich Indian silk, furred with ermine, and embroidered all over with branches of trees, doves, bears, and other quaint devices, worked in silver and gold, upon which seven ounces of gold thread were expended, would, we imagine, bear testimony to the capriciousness, rather than to the correct-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 218. *Gascon Roll*, 25 Edw. III., m. 6.

ness of her taste. But the princess was fond of the elaborate embroidery fashionable at that period;—her robes of crimson velvet, made for St. George's feast, the previous month, having employed twenty workmen and nine workwomen, for thirteen days in their manufacture. There were also robes of velvet; of cloth of gold, of Baudekin, wrought with chaplets of gold; of rich Tripoli silk, and others too numerous to detail. One portion of her equipment would suggest the idea that the princess intended to distribute badges, as bridal favours, on her wedding day. It consisted of 119 circles, made of silk and pearls, each circle inclosing an Agnus Dei of gold, standing upon a band of green velvet, wrought with flowers and leaves; these circles are mentioned as having been made expressly for the nuptials of the Lady Isabella in Gascony, at a cost of 31*l*.¹

One advantage derived by King Edward, from the proposed marriage of his daughter with a person of so inferior rank, was that no large marriage-portion drew upon his finances, already exhausted with his frequent wars; neither is there any record of his attempting to exact, from his tax-burdened subjects, the subsidy granted by ancient custom on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the sovereign. Probably the king might suppose that this love-match would be unpopular with his people, and therefore refrain from applying to them. The enamoured Gascon, happy in the prospective possession of his beloved and loving Isabella, and in the anticipated honour of becoming a king's son-in-law, was satisfied with the very small portion of 4000 marks, in addition to the pension of 1000 marks already stipulated in the marriage-contract. The money was appointed to be paid the ensuing Michaelmas; but the king, wishful to reserve for his daughter

¹ Wardrobe Acct., 24 and 25 Edw. III., No. 1215, Queen's Rem. Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe, 18 Edw. II.—24 Edw. III.

the power of changing her mind, even at the last moment, stipulated that, should the death of young Bernard, or any other circumstance occur to interfere with the completion of the marriage, the dower, as well as the whole bridal apparatus should be returned, not to the king but to the princess; thus holding out to Isabella a handsome bribe, to abandon a connexion which he could not cordially approve, notwithstanding his kindness in granting his consent.

This composition was made on the 4th of May, and confirmed on the 12th of July the same year, 1351¹; and, in the following November, preparations were made for the princess to go to Gascony. Walter Herewell, one of the king's serjeants at arms, received a royal commission to *arrest*, in all ports and places, from the mouth of the Thames westward, five vessels, competent for the passage of Isabella, the king's dearest daughter, to the country of Gascony, and also to charge all mariners belonging to vessels on their way to Gascony, to assemble at the port of Plymouth, and escort her to the said country². Her retinue of knights and men-at-arms was provided³, and every needful preliminary attended to.

But when the marriage thus seemed on the very point of consummation, it was suddenly broken off. Not certainly from any political misunderstanding between the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, for we find that in the following January, the Lord d'Albret visited England, and was treated with great courtesy by King Edward, who sent his own fleet to convey him back to Gascony⁴; and, for many years, he remained faithful to the English interest⁵.

¹ Fœdera, vol. iii., pp. 218, 219, 227.

² Ibid., p. 235.

³ Issue Roll, 26 Edw. III., Mich. Devon's Excerpta, p. 158.

⁴ Fœdera, vol. iii., p. 236.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 240, 283.

The only assignable cause for this breach is the caprice of the princess herself. Either some love-quarrel occurred, or Isabella shrunk, as the crisis approached, from so entire a change of destiny, and, perchance, from the degradation of sinking down to the level of the wife of a Gascon noble. The disappointment sank deeply into the heart of the enamoured Bernard. Weary of the world, in which his hopes had been thus blighted, he retired for ever from it, and immured himself within the walls of a cloister. He became a cordelier monk, relinquishing to his younger brother, Arnaud Amaneus, his hereditary rights as heir of the house of Albret¹.

After the abrupt close of this negotiation, the king refrained from any farther attempts to dispose of Isabella's hand, although she was his only marriageable daughter; and he cheerfully reconciled himself to the idea of a maiden princess,—a phenomenon very unusual in those days,—by the comfort he hoped to derive from the society of his daughter in his declining years. A few scattered notices occur of the career of the princess during the years immediately ensuing. In 1353, we find her presenting offerings at St. Paul's cathedral, London, at Rochford, in Essex, at the tomb of St. Thomas, in Hereford cathedral; and, in company with the king, at St. Mary's of Walsingham, *en route* to which celebrated shrine, they paid their devotions at every church or convent which they passed. On the 24th of September, she was present, with her father and several of her brothers and sisters, at a solemn anniversary service per-

¹ For this curious fact, the author is indebted to the communication of that laborious genealogist, G. W. Markham, Esq., of Sunderland. Of Arnaud Amaneus, afterwards Lord of Albret, and his intercourse with the Black Prince, when in Aquitaine, some details are preserved by Froissart (vol. iii., pp. 265, 276, 341). Negotiations between Edward III. and Bernard the father, and also his son and successor, Amaneus, and a younger son, Berard d'Albret, occur on the Gascon Rolls, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 47 Edw. III., &c. See *Carte's Gascon Rolls*.

formed at the tomb of the murdered king, Edward II. The princess still kept up the benevolent habit, taught her in early life, of bestowing alms upon the poor wherever she travelled¹.

Anxious to add to the comfort of his beloved child, and also to place her in a position suited to her rank, King Edward, on the 6th of March, 1355, by three several letters-patent, granted to "his beloved Isabella, his eldest daughter," the custody of the priory of Burstall, an adjunct of the great French abbey of Albemarle, or Aumale, which priory the king had taken into his own hands during the war with France; and so long as the war lasted, all its "lands, tenements, possessions, goods, and cattle, in the counties of York and Lincoln, with their military fiefs and ecclesiastical advowsons," were placed in the hands of the princess. At the same time, the king gave her a revenue of 120 marks from the manor of Walsham, in the east riding of Yorkshire, and of 100 shillings from that of Cameringham, in Holderness, Lincolnshire². He also granted her the castle of Carisbrook, in the Isle of Wight, with other castles and manors in that island³; and, by another patent, the manor of Boustrode, and various others⁴. The following year, in the months of March and April, five additional grants of manors, priory revenues, farms, wardships, were bestowed on her, "on account," says the king, in his preamble, "of the kind and especial affection which we have and bear to our dearest daughter, Isabella, and that she may be able better and more decently to support her state⁵." Unwearied in his liberalities, the king presented her with a jewelled coronet, value 100*l.*, and expended 210*l.* in other jewels for her. But notwithstanding her handsome emolu-

¹ Wardrobe Book, 27 Edw. III., No. 1204, Queen's Rem.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 296.

³ Patent Roll, 29 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 15; pt. 3, m. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pt. 1, m. 13.

⁵ Patent Roll, 30 Edw. III., pt. 1, mm. 12, 13. A full recapitulation of grants made to her is printed in Appendix, No. VII.

ments, the princess, when left to the management of her own affairs, proved a bad economist. For want¹ of cash, she allowed the wages of her servants to run into arrears; obtained on credit a pair of costly silver buckles, which she wished to present to her sister-in-law the Countess of Richmond, wife of John of Gaunt¹; borrowed money from her father to meet her pressing wants²; and, at length, ashamed to apply to him for farther aid, was obliged to pawn jewels to the value of 1000 marks, in order to extricate herself from temporary embarrassment. The parties to whom she pledged the jewels were the treasurer and chamberlain of the royal exchequer; and either they, fearful of involving themselves in difficulties, revealed the affair to the king, or he detected it in some other way, probably by noticing the absence of the decorations which he had lavished on his daughter's person, and it excited his displeasure. But he did not allow the princess to remain under the temporary disgrace involved in such a transaction, and therefore advanced money for the redemption of her jewels, with a strict proviso that the loan should be repaid³.

The rebukes which she probably received on this occasion checked, though they did not cure, her propensity to extravagance; and her father, to remove every plea of necessity on account of deficiency of income, assigned her, at Michaelmas 1358, for the support of her chamber, 1000 marks a-year, which were regularly paid during the whole of his life-time⁴. He granted her, in addition, all the lands, tenements, and possessions in England, belong-

¹ Devon's Excerpta, p. 173.

² Issue Roll, 32 Edw. III., Mich. This roll records a payment made by the king, of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a-day to the valet of his daughter Isabella, which he *ought* to have received from her, but which, on the 10th of October, had been left unpaid since the preceding 26th of March; also of 21*l.*, lent to her from the revenues of the manor of Minster Lovel, to be repaid at the king's will.

³ Pell Roll, 33 Edw. III., Mich., Rolls House.

⁴ Issue Rolls, 32 to 51 Edw. III., *passim*.

ing to the abbey of Fontevraud, which, during the war with France, were alienated, and remained in the king's hands¹. To these, several donations of wardships² were added. One of them was situated in Ireland, of which country, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Isabella's brother, was lieutenant³. He, contrary to the stipulations of the grant, endeavoured to raise the usual government subsidies from the land in the hands of the princess; upon which she made complaint to her father, and entreated him to redress the grievance. He accordingly wrote to Lionel, ordering an entire exemption from all taxes for these estates, so long as they remained in the hands of his daughter⁴.

Another still more important grant made to Isabella, was that of the lands and custody of young Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March⁵, which she disposed of to the mother of her ward, for 1000 marks per annum; with the understanding that the latter should also pay the sum of 100 marks, which Isabella was pledged to supply for the maintenance and education of the young heir. An indenture was drawn up to this effect, to which the seals of both ladies were affixed on the 30th of September, 1364. The princess was rather a close bargainer; for she stipulated that if, at any time, the quarterly payments of the 1000 marks were not discharged when due, the delay of only a single day should involve a double payment for that quarter⁶.

The death of Isabella's two younger sisters, the Coun-

¹ Issue Rolls, 32 Edw. III., Mich.

² 210 marks instead of a farm belonging to the priory of Eye. *Ibid.* The wardship and lands, during his minority, of the heir of Nicholas Seymour. *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, 36 Edw. III., p. 276 b., and the same of the heir of Thomas de Courteney. *Issue Roll*, 40 Edw. III., Mich.

³ Patent Roll, 35 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 10. *Ibid.*, 38, pt. 2, m. 33.

⁴ Close Roll, 38 Edw. III., m. 2. This wardship was afterwards granted to Gerard, son of John Delard, of Ireland, by the Lord de Coucy. *Patent Roll*, 42 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 13.

⁵ Afterwards married to Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and ancestor of the house of York.

⁶ Patent Roll, 38 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 20. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 883.

tesses of Bretagne and Pembroke, in the year 1361, endeared their only remaining daughter still more to the hearts of her parents. The vacancies in the royal circle were partially filled up by the marriage of the gallant Black Prince and Joanna, the fair maid of Kent, which was celebrated in the month of October¹. The bride and bridegroom resided at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire; and thither Isabella accompanied her parents on a Christmas visit, which lasted several days, where the royal party strove to obliterate from their recollections the painful past, amidst the cheerful associations of the present². But at the close of the festivities, another separation re-excited their sorrowful feelings. They had to bid adieu to the young prince, who, with his bride, departed to assume the government of Aquitaine. The parting is said to have cost many tears to the whole royal family³.

We must now allude to an event which ultimately exercised an important influence over the future destiny of the Princess Isabella. This was the captivity of King John of France, who, as is well known, was taken prisoner by the Black Prince, at the battle of Poitiers, in 1347; his entrance into London, seated on his tall white charger, attended by the prince on a small palfrey by his side, and escorted with all imaginable pomp, forms one of the most picturesque scenes in the chivalrous drama of the fourteenth century⁴.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 627.

² Bicknell, *Life of Edward the Black Prince*, p. 233.

³ Walsing., *Hist. Ang.*, p. 172. The Cottonian MS., Nero, D. vi., p. 31, contains a quaint illumination of the presentation by Edward III. to his son, of the patent creating him governor of the province. The prince receives it with much reverence, on bended knee.

⁴ The Brute Chronicle, Lambeth MS., 99, fol. 54 b., col. 1, records one particular of this scene not generally known;—that the goldsmiths of London placed twelve most beautiful young girls in cages, curiously fastened up, in some conspicuous part of the route, whose office it was to scatter flowers, composed of silver and gold filagree work over the heads of those who rode by, in which they were greatly applauded by the king and the Black Prince.

The captive king was treated with the utmost courtesy, and proposals for his liberation were made by King Edward; these were, the payment of an enormous ransom and the surrender in full sovereignty of Aquitaine and Normandy. On these terms Edward pledged himself to relinquish his futile pretensions to the crown of France. After long hesitation, King John consented to subscribe to the conditions, but the French nation refused compliance; and Edward, exasperated at the disappointment, went over to France, in the autumn of 1359, breathing revenge towards the opponents of his pretensions. His campaign was only partially successful; and the horrors of the war brought even his stern spirit to relent and desire a peace. This was concluded at Bretigny, on the 8th of May, 1360, by the cession, on the part of Edward, of some of his claims, and the confirmation to him of others; with the promised payment, within six years, of three millions of golden crowns as the ransom of King John, for the security of which payment twenty-five of the French nobility, including several members of the royal family, and forty-two of the richest burghers of France, were to be sent over to England as hostages.

It was this last article of the treaty that eventually led to the marriage of the Lady Isabella. The Dukes of Orleans, Anjou, and Berry, the king's sons, who were amongst the hostages first selected, were released in the year 1363, on substituting in their places a number of the French nobility¹. Amongst these was Ingelram de Coucy, Lord of Coucy, la Fère and Oisi, in the district of Marle, who was selected, not only on account of his honourable birth, but because his family had been most strenuous and steadfast in their resistance of the aggres-

¹ Cotton. MS., Nero, B. vi., f. 56. Patent Roll, 37 Edw. III., m. 8. Peter d'Alençon, Guy de Blois, Guy de Chatillon, Comte de St. Paul, John, Comte d'Harcourt, and others, were amongst the long list of substitutes.

sions of Edward III. in France; and, for the better maintenance of the peace, it was advisable that the most restless of its opposers should be among the selected hostages¹.

Although not of the first rank of French nobility, few houses had contracted more honourable alliances², or boasted more aristocratic independence, than that of De Coucy. This feeling was proudly exemplified in their very characteristic motto,

“ Je ne suis roi, ne duc, prince, ne comte aussie
Je suis le sire de Coucy.”

King, duke, prince, nor earl am I
I am the lord of Coucy.

In 1339, Ingelram, the father of our Lord de Coucy, defied a considerable force sent by Edward III. to lay siege to his castle of Oisi; and though the troops consisted of 500 men-at-arms and 1000 lancers, commanded by the brave Sir John of Hainault, they were compelled to retire from beneath its unconquered battlements³. He had also vehemently opposed King Edward in the war of the Breton succession. His death took place in 1347. His wife, Catherine of Austria, was the daughter of the Duke Leopold of Austria, and granddaughter of the Emperor Albert I.; so that the imperial blood of Austria mingled with that of the De Coucys in the veins of the young Ingelram, who was born about the year 1339. He was left under the guardianship of his mother; but she, too, died in 1349, of the fearful plague that then devastated Europe, and the noble boy was doubly an orphan. He was taken under the protection of his uncle, John de Coucy, Lord of Havrincourt⁴; and before he attained his

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 604. *Gray's Scalacronica*, p. 199.

² The second wife of Alexander III. of Scotland, Mary de Coucy, was of this family.

³ *Froissart*, vol. i., p. 143. *Duplessis, Hist. de Coucy*, p. 80.

⁴ *Abrégé de la vie d'Enguerrand VII., Sire de Coucy*, par M. Zurlauben, in “*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*,” 12mo. Amsterdam, vol. xii., pp. 284-296. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 237. *Anselm, Hist. Généal.*, vol. viii., p. 545.

majority, with hereditary bravery, he joined the standards of his feudal lord, King John of France. During the captivity of this monarch, he distinguished himself by the successful energy with which he put down the horrible system of *Jacquerie*¹, which had strangely spread through his own territories and those of the neighbouring lords; so vigorous was his rule, so strongly were his fortresses guarded, that he was considered lord paramount of that part of the country².

When he arrived in England, in the year 1363, he was just twenty-four years of age. Edward III. treated all his hostages with courtesy, and the youthful gallantry of the Lord de Coucy secured for him a large share of the royal favour³. The family of De Coucy had for many years possessed lands in England, inherited through Christina de Baliol, wife of Ingelram V., Lord de Coucy; but their ownership had been little more than nominal, in consequence of the enmity subsisting between England and France. By the liberality of King Edward, young Ingelram was restored to full possession of all the manors and lands in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland, which had belonged to his family⁴; and the king granted him also other favours in reference to wardships, &c.⁵

Edward III. introduced his young *protégé* at court, where his graceful person, his pleasing manners, his skill in dancing and singing, his elegant horsemanship and other

¹ For details of this practical development of the worst principles of modern Chartism, see Froissart, vol. ii., pp. 387, 394.

² Ibid., p. 417.

³ Duchesne, Hist. de la Maison de Coucy, p. 265.

⁴ Patent Roll, 37 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 11. Dugdale, vol. i., p. 761.

⁵ On occasion of a contest between De Coucy and Robert de Haulay, about a church at Thornton, the king wrote to the justices of the commune, commanding that the Lord de Coucy should by no means be foreclosed of his right, if he had any, and that they should help him to the utmost of their power. *Privy Seal Bills*, 39 Edw. III. See also Close Roll, 38 Edw. III., m. 21; 41 Edw. III., m. 5.

courtier-like accomplishments, added to the reputation he already enjoyed for chivalric daring, rendered him a great favourite with the ladies; for "whatever he chose to do," says Froissart, "he did well and with grace¹."

This youth it was who was fortunate enough to win the heart of the Lady Isabella and a strong and lasting attachment was formed between them².

On the return of King John of France to his voluntary captivity, in January 1364, the young Lord de Coucy was one of the nobles who met and greeted him, and bore an active part in the entertainments by which King Edward manifested his joy at the arrival of his royal guest. That winter, he and Isabella were frequent sharers in the festivities of the palace of Savoy, occupied by King John and many of the blood-royal of France, who, notwithstanding the king's return, were detained hostages for the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of Bretigny, unless they could liberate themselves by the payment of a heavy ransom. There and at Westminster, the royalties of England and France frequently met, and entertained each other with sumptuous dinners, suppers and amusements; until a mournful stop was put to their merriment by the death of King John in the month of April 1364³.

In due time, De Coucy made a formal application to her parents for the hand of his lady-love. His suit was willingly listened to by King Edward, who, knowing the importance of his adherence in case of any future rupture with France, caught at the opportunity of uniting him by close bonds to the English cause, and was

¹ Vol. iii., p. 121. Froissart says also, that "he rode in the most graceful manner, to the delight of those who saw him, and all praised him for the agreeable manner with which he addressed every one." *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 313. The first introduction of this chronicler to De Coucy, with whom he was long and familiarly acquainted, was at this period, when Froissart was in the household of Edward and Philippa.

² Collins, *Life of the Black Prince*, p. 257.

³ Froissart, vol. iii., pp. 122, 126.

not displeased at the prospect of seeing his daughter united to a man whom she loved. The portion which the king agreed to bestow upon the princess was 4000 livres annually.

The marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, amidst mirth and minstrelsy, at Windsor castle, on the 27th of July, the festival of the sleeping saints, in the year 1365¹. The gaiety of the revels may be imagined from the fact, that King Edward presented no less a sum than 100*l.* to divers minstrels at Windsor, who were present "at the marriage of Isabella, the king's daughter, the Lady de Coucy²." On her wedding morning Isabella was arrayed in jewels to the then immense value of 2,370*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; these were presented as bridal gifts by her parents and brothers³.

The same day, King Edward obtained from his son-in-law a declaration, made, as he informs us, "in pure truth, and of his free will, and without constraint," to the effect that, during the whole time he had been a hostage in England, he had been well treated both by the king and his people. He was now freed from his hostageship, and at liberty to depart wherever he might choose⁴; that is to say, King Edward's bridal gift to him was his personal freedom, which he could not otherwise have purchased, without the payment of a ransom.

The English chroniclers, surprised at the honours conferred upon the young stranger, perplexed themselves to discover titles of dignity for the husband of the princess royal; failing in the attempt, they spoke of him as "a certain magnate from transmarine parts, commonly called De Coucy, but whose other name is unknown."

¹ Chron. Brute, Cotton. MS., Nero, A. vi., f. 46. Chron. Hayles, Harl. MS., 3725, f. 15. Cotton. MS., Galba, E. vii., f. 189, col. 1. Annales Luculenti. Ibid., Nero, D. ii., f. 219 b. John Malvern, Middlehill MS., 10429. Walsing., p. 174. ² Issue Roll, 40 Edw. III., Mich.

³ Ibid. Of these jewels, the value of 1,273*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was given by Queen Philippa. See *Issue Roll*, 41 Edw. III., Mich.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 773.

At the time of her marriage, Isabella had completed her thirty-third year, whilst her husband had only just entered upon his twenty-seventh. The bridal pair spent the first four months of their union at the court of King Edward; but Ingelram, anxious, after an absence of nearly three years, to revisit his paternal estates, prevailed upon the king to allow him to take his wife abroad. Isabella was likely to become a mother, and therefore it was not without reiterated entreaties, and due provisions for future contingencies, that the king permitted their departure. The royal consent was at length signified in a letter addressed to them both, as follows:—

“The king to our very dear and much-beloved Ingelram, Lord of Coucy, and to our very dear and much-beloved daughter, Isabella, his wife, greeting. Since you have often asked leave of us to go into France, to visit your lands, possessions, and estates, in those parts and elsewhere, we, considering that your request is very reasonable, as a thing that much affects your honour and profit, give you leave and licence to depart freely from our realms, and to go to France and elsewhere, whithersoever it shall please you.”

The letter goes on to state, that the king, “in the abundance of his special grace, wills, grants, and declares, that all children, male or female, who at any time may be born to them abroad, shall be considered capable of inheriting lands in England, and shall be as fully naturalized as though they were born in the realm, all ordinances, establishments, customs, or usages of the kingdom, notwithstanding. Given under witness of our great seal, at our palace of Westminster, the 26th day of November¹.” Availing themselves of this permission, the Lord and Lady de Coucy set out for France.

The château de Coucy, whither Ingelram led his bride,

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 778. *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i., p. 761. *Pat. Roll*, 39 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 8.

was a noble fortress, founded in the thirteenth century by Ingelram III., and was as complete a type of an ancient feudal mansion, as was its lord of a chivalrous baron. It was built on an eminence, elongated in the form of a cape, at the western side of the town of Coucy, and communicating directly with it. Over the entrance-gate of the principal tower, a sculptured lion, whose fury seemed to quail before a buckler opposed to it, presented a striking symbol of daring resistance. The grand staircase was twenty-two feet in diameter, and led by running galleries of twelve richly-sculptured arches, to numerous apartments of corresponding dimensions, which formed the residence of the family. Within the double inclosure of the walls, defended by ten ramparts and four bastions, were various erections for the accommodation of the officers and dependants of the household and of the castle garrison. But the most striking feature of the building was the insulated donjon-tower or keep, which rose to the gigantic height of 176 feet, and was 305 feet in circumference; its hoary walls still remain to attest its massive strength, although in 1692 it was vertically cleft by a slight shock of earthquake¹.

In this noble mansion, Isabella found herself at the head of an establishment almost regal in its arrangements, for the lords de Coucy chose to adopt, in their miniature court, all the etiquette of royalty. They had their high constable, chamberlain, grand master of the household, cup-bearer, and other officers, similar to those they were

¹ Duplessis, Hist. de Coucy, p. 4. Du Sommerard, Les Arts au Moyen Age, 10me série, planche ix. This splendid work contains a fine lithograph of the mouldering towers and battlements, which still remain to give a faint idea of what was once the château de Coucy. An excellent engraving of it, as it formerly stood, is given in Duplessis' Hist. de Coucy, p. 55, from an ancient picture at Fontainebleau, and another in "Mémoires Historiques sur Raoul de Coucy," vol. i., p. 9. This Raoul, the châtelain de Coucy, was a troubadour bard as well as warrior of the twelfth century. His *chansons*, several of them set to music, are published in the second volume of this work. He was

accustomed to see at the court of the French monarchs, where the De Coucy held the hereditary office of grand butler¹.

In the month of April 1366, Isabella gave birth to her eldest daughter, the Lady Mary de Coucy. She instantly dispatched a messenger to apprise her father of this joyful event²; and as soon as she had recovered her strength, set forth, accompanied by her husband, to present her infant to its grandparents.

Immediately on their arrival, King Edward raised his son-in-law to the dignity of an English peer. "On Monday, the 11th of May," records the parliamentary roll for the year, "the king, prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and nobles, and commons being in the white chamber, the chancellor showed to the nobles and commons how the king had married his daughter Isabella to the Lord de Coucy, who had handsome estates in England and elsewhere; and, for the cause that he was so nearly allied to him, it were fitting that the king should enhance and increase him in honour and name, and make him an earl; and, thereupon, he requested their advice and assent. Which nobles, each for himself, and the commons, with one assent, agreed that it would be to the king's honour to increase his estate, and to name and make him earl; and, for the cause that the king was not then advised of what place he would be pleased to name him earl, it was deferred to the king's good pleasure³."

Edward ultimately nominated his son-in-law to the vacant earldom of Bedford, with a revenue of 300 marks a-year⁴; he also installed him into the dignity of himself the subject of a romance entitled "*Roman du Chatelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Taril*," of which a unique copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

¹ *Abrégé de la vie d'Enguerrand VII.*, Sire de Coucy, *Mém. Acad. Royale*, vol. xii., pp. 311, 313.

² *Issue Roll*, 40 Edw. III.

³ *Parl. Rolls*, vol. ii., p. 290 b.

⁴ *Rob. Reading, Harl. MS.*, 685, f. 341. *Dugdale*, vol. i., p. 61. *Duchesne, Hist. de la Maison de Coucy*; preuves, p. 415.

knight of the garter¹. The same year he increased his daughter's ample revenues by a grant, in itself implying a promise of future favours; he gave her 200*l.* a-year additional income, until she should be better provided for². He also restored to her and to her husband and their heirs male, as a mark of his special good, the lands of Joanna Coupland, which had belonged to the princess before her marriage, but which she had afterwards resigned to her father³.

Although the Earl and Countess of Bedford—for these titles they now usually assumed, instead of those of Lord and Lady de Coucy—were thus supplied with abundant means of self-support, they still resided principally at the court of King Edward, and both received presents of robes at the customary festivals, when such provision was made for the other children of the king⁴. All this liberality on her father's part did not suffice to teach Isabella the difficult lesson of confining her expenditure within her income. This very year the king had to pay 60*l.* to redeem a circlet which she had pledged to one Adam Frances; and 130*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* to discharge debts to sundry of her trades-people, for silk velvet, taffeta, gold, embroidered cloth, ribbands, linen, diaper, &c.⁵

Up to the close of this year, the earl and countess appear to have remained at court⁶; but early in 1367 they retired to the palace of Eltham, where Isabella gave birth to a second daughter. Her parents paid her a visit of congratulation, and were present at the baptism of her infant, which was solemnized with much splendour, and in reference to which we find the following entry:

“Paid for different silver vases, bought from London goldsmiths, for the gifts of the king and queen at Eltham, on the day when the infant of the Lady Isabella was bap-

¹ Nicholas' Knightage, p. 43 n. ² Issue Roll, 40 Edw. III., Mich.

³ Patent Roll, 41 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 2.

⁴ Privy Seal Letters, 40 Edw. III., No. 240, Queen's Rememb.

⁵ Issue Rolls, 40 Edw. III., Easter and Mich.

⁶ See Issue Roll, 40 Edw. III., Mich.

tized: one pair of gilt bowls, six silver cups, two gilt bowls, with four water-pitchers of silver, one cup with a water-pitcher gilt and enchased, one pair of silver bowls with lions at the base, four chargers, twenty-four dishes, twenty-four salt-cellars, and twenty-four spoons," &c. The whole cost of this superb array was 239*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*¹

This child, afterwards the heiress of the De Coucy estates in England, was called Philippa, after her grandmother the queen. The birth of a second grand-child still farther cemented the union between the Earl of Bedford and Edward III. As the honours of the De Coucy family were likely to be perpetuated by his own descendants, the king took an interest in extending their continental, as well as their English, possessions; and a singular opportunity for doing this occurred. One of the hostages who was sent to England at the same time as the fortunate De Coucy, was his neighbour, Guy de Blois, Comte de Soissons, who, from inability to procure his ransom, had lingered four years in his honorary captivity. King Edward offered to release him on condition of his selling his territory to De Coucy; its vicinity to whose lands made it a very convenient addition². The king paid the purchase-money in lieu of the 4000 livres annual pension which he had presented to his daughter on her marriage³.

This compact was concluded on the 9th of July, 1367, and Ingelram and Isabella, with their infant, immediately set out for France, to visit their newly-acquired domains. During her occasional residences on the continent, Isabella kept up a frequent interchange of letters and messengers with her father⁴. In the spring of the year

¹ Issue Roll, 41 Edw. III., Easter. Both the issue rolls of this year record payments to different domestics of the Lady Isabella.

² In consideration of this gift the king also deducted 500 marks from the 1000 annually allowed to his daughter from the exchequer, and assigned lands in substitution for nearly the whole remaining sum. Patent Roll, 41 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 18. French Roll, *ibid.*, m. 4.

³ *Abrégé de la Vie, &c.*, p. 297. Duchesne, *Hist. de la Maison de Coucy*; preuves, p. 415.

⁴ Issue Rolls, 40 Edw. III., Easter, and 41 Edw. III., Mich.

1368, the gallant Lord de Coucy, "whose presence," says Froissart, "was so acceptable at a feast, of which none knew better how to do the honours," visited the French court, accompanied by his lady¹; there they had the pleasure of meeting Lionel, Duke of Clarence, brother of Isabella, who was on his way to Italy to espouse the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan; a journey from which the unfortunate prince never returned, for he died at Milan in the flower of his age². The following August they had again returned to their château, where De Coucy granted exemption from mortmain and other privileges to his vassals in the barony of Coucy³.

The course of political events soon placed De Coucy in a position of painful embarrassment. In the interval of peace, and under the excitement of an ardent passion, he, a vassal of France, had become the son-in-law of the King of England, and afterwards accepted an English earldom, without sufficiently calculating the difficulties of his position, should war again break out between the rival countries. That crisis now transpired. Events, which it were irrelevant here to detail, produced a total rupture of the treaty of Bretigny. Active hostilities were renewed, De Coucy seemed reduced to the dilemma either of lifting his sword against his friend and father-in-law, or of staining his knightly honour by entering the list against his liege lord, King Charles of France. After painful struggles of mind, he at last found another alternative. He determined to quit his native country and go into Italy to offer his services to Pope Urban V., who was then at war with Galeazzo and Bernardo Visconti, the joint Dukes of Milan⁴.

¹ Isabella was doubly related to King Charles V., not only through her grandmother Queen Isabella, who was a daughter of France, but through her mother, who was first cousin to Charles's father.

² *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 238. Duplessis, *ut sup.*, p. 82.

³ Duchesne, *ut sup.*; *preuves*, p. 415.

⁴ Froissart, vol. iv., p. 241. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 238. *Abrégé de la Vie*, &c., p. 297. Duplessis, p. 83.

The motives which actuated this self-exile were so honourable that they procured for the Lord de Coucy the respect and admiration of both parties; and, during the scenes of strife and bloodshed that ensued, his territories, though often within the sphere of the war, enjoyed perfect tranquillity. The French respected them because they looked upon De Coucy as a peer of France; and “never,” says Froissart, “did the English hurt man or woman, or take a farthing from them, who said, ‘I belong to the Lord de Coucy’¹;” a moderation the more creditable since several members of the De Coucy family, including the two uncles of Ingelram, John de Coucy, and Raoul de Coucy, Lord of Havrincourt, were even then engaged in the French ranks². On one occasion, at the battle of Ribemont, a French nobleman dishonourably availed himself of this scrupulosity to secure his own safety, by making use of a banner emblazoned with the arms of De Coucy. “How is this?” exclaimed the English officers; “has the Lord de Coucy sent any of his men hither? He ought to be one of our friends.” Their confidence in his honour was too strong to be shaken by such a *ruse*, and orders were given that no damage should be done, by burning or otherwise, to the lands of the Lord de Coucy³.

Meanwhile, Isabella, on the departure of her husband for Italy, had returned to England, with her daughters Mary and Philippa. She resumed her former position in her father’s family, now greatly diminished by the absence of all her gallant brothers, excepting the youngest, in the continental wars.

Soon after her arrival, she witnessed the closing scenes of the life of her virtuous and beloved mother, Queen Philippa of Hainault, and was present, a true-hearted

¹ Vol. iv., p. 85. The castle of Guisnes in particular was committed to the charge of an English esquire, to provide for its safety. See French Roll, 48 Edw. III., m. 14.

² Froissart, pp. 89, 98, 220.

³ Ibid., p. 241.

mourner, at her funeral¹. In her mother Isabella had ever found a tender sympathizer in all her joys and sorrows; and now, this beloved parent was taken from her at a time when a mother's love and counsels were doubly needful, to support her in her long protracted absence from her lord, and to assist her in the training of her little daughters. Moreover, the death of the queen rendered Isabella a mortified witness of the disgraceful domestic scenes that ensued; when her mighty sire, now in the decline of life, allowed himself to be so far captivated by the charms of the beautiful Alice Perrers, as to elevate this worthless woman, in everything, save the name, to the dignity of a queen. Even the robes and jewels so lately worn by Queen Philippa were transferred to her².

It is creditable to the taste and good feeling of the Countess Isabella, that she retired from a court where the memory of her deceased mother was thus outraged. For several years she remained in seclusion with her children, but the place of her residence has not transpired.

In 1371, Isabella betrothed her younger daughter Philippa to Robert de Vere, ninth Earl of Oxford, then a

¹ Wardrobe Indentures, temp. Edw. III., Queen's Rem.

² Maitland's History of London, vol. i., p. 132, records an instance in which Edward III. violated the limits of decorum by proclaiming a tournament at Smithfield, where Alice Perrers, who was a married woman, appeared in pompous apparel in a triumphal chariot, under the title of "the Lady of the Sun," and was attended by many ladies, each holding the bridle of a knight's horse. The disgraceful procession set forth from the Tower, and went along Cheapside to Smithfield, to the great scandal of the sober inhabitants of the city. Barnes, the historian of Edward III., and several later writers, endeavour to wipe away from the memory of their hero the stain of this low and criminal connexion; but the undeniable testimony of records confirms that of contemporary chroniclers as to its existence and potency. Not only do the Wardrobe Accounts show that Alice Perrers was constantly identified with the royal family, and shared with them marks of affection from the king, but the State Rolls record many tokens of his beneficence to her. Patent Rolls, 42 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 2. Ibid., pt. 2, mm. 6, 30. Ibid., 47 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 23; 48, pt. 2, m. 7, &c.; 50, pt. 2, m. 20. See also Parl. Rolls, vol. iii., p. 12 b.

youth of ten years¹, and inheriting, by the death of his father, several years previously, one of the finest ancestral estates in England. From the period of their betrothal, the little lady Philippa constantly bore the title of Countess of Oxford².

This connexion gave rise to important results. By his alliance with the king's grand-daughter, this handsome but worthless young nobleman became a frequent resident at court; and an early attachment sprang up between him and his wife's cousin, Prince Richard, afterwards Richard II., which led to calamities equally disastrous to both.

In 1374, the publication of a truce between France and England, and the partial cessation, at the same juncture, of the wars in which he had been engaged in Lombardy, enabled the Lord de Coucy to return with honour to his own territories. On one occasion, in the course of the campaign, he had nearly lost his life, being overpowered with superior numbers, and left almost alone. He owed his preservation to his English alliance. Sir John Hawkwood, an English knight in the Pope's service, flew to his rescue with five hundred knights, and freed him from the peril, "which," says Froissart, "he was solely induced to do, because the Lord de Coucy had married one of the King of England's daughters³."

De Coucy had so distinguished himself in his military career, that Charles V. of France was induced, by the fame of his achievements, to offer him the *bâton* of a marshal of France, if he would join the French standards; but the bribe proved ineffectual. On his return home, he was delighted to find his lands and castles all untouched by the

¹ Patent Roll, 47 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 23. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i., p. 761. The Earl and Countess of Bedford had the grant of the marriage of the heir, but not the custody of the estates; for we find that, in 1376, King Edward allotted to his daughter a small income from the lands of De Vere, which would have been all her own had she been in temporary possession of the estates of the minor earl.

² Patent Roll, 45 Edw. III., pt. 3, m. 23.

³ Vol. v., p. 93.

scathe of war, and in prosperous condition ; and not less so it may be presumed, to welcome back his wife and children after so long an absence¹. He does not appear to have paid a visit to England, deterred probably by the report, given him by his lady, of the unpleasant scenes that were transpiring at the court of King Edward².

Only a brief interval of repose and domestic reunion was enjoyed by De Coucy. The present seemed to him a fitting opportunity for establishing his rights to certain allodial possessions of the house of Austria, in Switzerland, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Catherine, on the decease of whose father, Leopold, without issue male, they had been taken possession of by Albert III. and Leopold III., joint Dukes of Austria.

¹ Duplessis, p. 85.

² The state of the English court at this time, the rapacity of the royal purveyors, and the extravagance of the whole establishment, are vividly and severely drawn by the pen of Archbishop Islip, in a work entitled "*Speculum Regis Edwardi III.*," in which the "mirror" held up to the view of the astonished monarch reflected anything but a flattering portrait. The expenses of the royal stud particularly excited the indignation of the worthy prelate. "And now, my lord king," says he, "consider the expenses you incur yearly about one great horse. One great horse must needs have, at the least, one groom to attend to it, who will receive three halfpence per day for his expenses. He will receive a provision for the horse itself ; for the price of hay 2*d.*, straw 1*d.* Thus the expenses for a single day, of horse and groom, will be 4½*d.*; and thus the expenses of one week 2*s.* 7½*d.*; enough to support four or five poor persons. Then computing the expense of one groom and one horse per annum, the expenses amount to 6*l.* 16*s.* And note that commonly it is merely lost. How many and great, then, are the annual expenses for your grooms and horses ! Would it not be good and wholesome counsel to you that you should diminish the number of your horses to pay your debts and those of your father ; or if the debts were paid, to give to so many religious poor and pilgrims, or to convert to other uses of piety ?" Middlehill MS., 4826, fol. 34. The king's frequent perusal of this work is said to have wrought such an effect upon him that he, of his own accord, made many excellent laws against the oppression of the purveyors, which was mainly complained of. *Coke's Institutes*, p. 545. It is certain that he issued a patent in which, after alluding to this grievance, he decreed that thenceforth the name of office "of purveyor" shall cease altogether, and be changed to that of "purchaser;" for that henceforth every article required for the royal use shall be regularly paid for. *Patent Roll*, 49 *Edw. III.*, pt. 1, m. 33.

He accordingly solicited permission from Charles of France, who, since his return, had treated him with marked courtesy, to assemble some of the troops disbanded on account of the truce with England, and to organize them in his own service. The king not only granted the permission, but lent or gave De Coucy 60,000 francs, to meet the expenses of the expedition. Ingelram led his little army in person, and Isabella, with her younger daughter, Philippa, returned, meanwhile, to England. The elder daughter, as heiress of the family, for De Coucy had still no sons, was left behind in France.

The countess arrived in England in the spring of the year 1375, when, finding her aged father declining apace, and giving signs of mental as well as physical decrepitude, she took up her abode at court, choosing, for his sake, to endure the society of his worthless mistress. Her father received her with great cordiality, and several entries in the record rolls prove that she exercised considerable influence over him. He consented, "at the supplication of his dearest daughter, Isabella, Countess of Bedford," to pardon John Hampton, of Nottingham, for a breach of peace, in killing David, servant of Roger De Lutton, and for any other outlawries he might have committed¹. A few weeks later, he extended his clemency to two other miscreants for whom she interceded²; but what alleviating circumstances induced the princess to interfere in behalf of these criminals, history records not.

During the early part of the following year, numerous entries in favour of Isabella occur on the record rolls, such as grants of wardships³, payments to her servants⁴, &c.; in addition to her usual receipts; whilst the ward-

¹ Patent Roll, 49 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 2.

² Patent Roll, ut sup., mm. 4, 11.

³ Ibid., pt. 1, mm. 3, 19; pt. 2, m. 26.

⁴ Issue Roll, 50 Edw. III., Easter.

robe accounts prove how amply the king provided for the equipment of herself and her daughter, although too frequently their names stand in discreditable association with that of Alice Perrers. Among the entries, occur—"a long gown, with a hood of scarlet cloth, for the Lady Isabella, of the cut of the Knights of the Garter, made and furred, with the hood and sleeves furred, and turned up with ermine, presented to her by the king's own hand. Also a gown and hood for her, of the Order of the Garter, made against St. George's day." Again, "for the Countess of Bedford, and the Countess of Oxford, her daughter, two robes of *ragged* (probably shaggy) velvet, turned up with ermine, as a Christmas gift."

We find, from another entry, that Isabella sometimes shared her father's retirement, when he withdrew from court with his mistress. Different garments, suitable for the season, are recorded as sent to the king, to his chamber at Shene, to be given by him to Alice Perrers and the Countess of Bedford. Furnishings for her chapel are also named; a chasuble richly trimmed, an altar-cloth embroidered with a crucifix and images of St. Mary and St. John, a cloth for the desk to support the book, and other paraphernalia; all which were purchased at the king's expense¹.

It would appear that the Lady de Coucy still used horse exercise occasionally, as mention is made of two saddles for her use, one of which was of red velvet, embroidered with violets of gold; the other wrought with suns, in gold and copper. She shared in the festivities of the hunting season, at Windsor, when twelve ladies, with bows beautifully painted, and presented to them by the king, took part in the sylvan sports which the aged monarch delighted to encourage, though he could no longer share in them. Isabella's companions, at this

¹ Wardrobe Account, dateless, but seemingly for the year 1376. Queen's Rem.

time, were her niece Philippa, daughter of her brother Lionel, the wife of Edmund Earl of March, and the "demoiselle of Bretagne," Johanna, a sister of John de Montfort, who had married Mary, the third daughter of Edward III.

The campaign of the Lord de Coucy was short, and not very successful¹; though many barons, knights, and squires of France, Artois, Hainault, and Picardy, "who wished to advance themselves in honour," had joined his standards². They advanced towards the Swiss frontiers of Austria, but the Austrians had burnt and destroyed the country for three days' march, and retreated to inaccessible mountains. This mode of defensive warfare was equally trying to the knights and to the hireling troops by whom they were accompanied. Famine and cold led to numerous desertions; and on the 13th of January, 1376, De Coucy was glad to sign a peace, by which, on consideration of the cession of the cities and seigneuries of Nidaw and Buren, in the canton of Berne, he relinquished his other pretensions³.

On his return homewards, De Coucy visited the court of France. He was handsomely entertained by King Charles, who exerted every possible effort to recal him to a sense of what he owed to his king and country, as a Frenchman by blood, by name, and by arms. His own family connexions, who regretted his frequent self-banishments, added their persuasions to induce him to abandon his allegiance to England, and this combination of eloquence was but too effective for the happiness of the English consort of the brave De Coucy⁴.

On his arrival at his own castle, Isabella joined him, leaving her daughter, the Lady Philippa, in England.

¹ A manifesto in which he set forth his pretensions is still preserved in the archives of Strasbourg, dated September 23, 1375.

² Froissart, vol. iv., p. 275.

³ Abrégé de la Vie d'Enguerrand de Coucy, pp. 298-308.

⁴ Duplessis, p. 57.

She arrived about the month of June¹; but her husband did not meet her with the glad and cordial welcome of former days. The scruples of honour that had long tormented him had so increased by his recent visit to France, that they became no longer endurable; and, at length, he communicated to Isabella his wish that she should go back to her father, and leave him at liberty to devote his sword to the cause of his rightful monarch. His chief object in requesting the return of Isabella was that by her gentle influence the king might be reconciled to this change of policy², and in this delicate point she appears to have been entirely successful.

The confidence between the French king and De Coucy was so fully restored, that he was employed as one of the negotiators, on the part of France, of the treaty of peace between the two crowns³. In fruitless efforts to accomplish this important object, the Lord de Coucy spent the winter 1376-7 principally at Bruges, in Flanders, during which time frequent and friendly intercourse was carried on between him and his English relatives; and, within a few months of the death of Edward III., which took place in less than a year after Isabella's return to England, we find him speaking of Ingelram as "his dearest son, the Earl of Bedford," and granting frequent letters of safe-conduct to the messengers, attorneys, and clerks of the earl and countess, who passed to and fro, on their business, between England and France⁴.

The last of these safe-conducts is dated the 19th of June, 1377, only four days before that on which Isabella

¹ In July her usual half-yearly income was sent over to Ingelram, for her support.

² Duplessis, *Hist. de Coucy*, p. 88.

³ Barnes' *Life of Edward III.*, p. 906.

⁴ French Roll, 50 Edw III., m. 11, and 51 Edw. III., mm. 1, 4, 6. Five of these documents occur during the former part of 1377. Three are printed in Appendix, No. V.; the dates of the other two are March 19 and June 19.

was deprived by death of the affectionate parent whose whole conduct towards her had been marked by tenderness and liberality¹. Isabella's presence is not recorded at the death-bed of her father, but his decease was a severe blow to her; so keenly did she feel it, that she determined, if possible, not to remain longer in England, but to make one last effort to awaken the slumbering affection of her husband, and induce him to permit her reunion with him. She therefore sent immediately to her nephew, the young king Richard II, requesting permission to go abroad, and on the 26th of June, the king sent an order to his uncle, the Earl of Cambridge, constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, to permit "his dearest aunt, Isabella, countess of Bedford," to sail from one of the said ports, with her accustomed household, horses, goods, baggage, &c., without let or hindrance².

Her mission failed to accomplish the designed result. The death of King Edward, so far from inclining De Coucy towards the English interest, tended to alienate him farther from it, by breaking the tie of gratitude which had bound him to his patron and benefactor. War broke out between England and France, and it was necessary that he should take a decided part. He turned a deaf ear

¹ It has been generally reported that the great Edward III. was forsaken when dying, and neglected when dead; but some entries in a wardrobe book of the first year of Richard II., No. 1205, *Queen's Remembrancer's Office*, tell a different tale. We find a payment recorded of £21 to Roger Chandler of London, for his labour and cost in keeping the king's body from putrefaction, and for the balsams, unguents, and oils employed about it;—of 22*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* to Stephen Hadley, for making an image of wax, in the likeness of the king, with crown, sceptre, &c., for his burial;—also, payments for wax torches, burned around his body whilst he was lying in state, and at his tomb;—for offerings at a requiem mass celebrated for him;—for alms given to the poor to pray for his soul;—for tolling the bells of Westminster Abbey, &c., &c. It was probably this waxen image of the king to which Froissart alludes, when he says that his *body* was carried through the city of London, with his face uncovered, to Westminster. Vol. iii., p. 282.

² *Fœdera*, edition 1728, vol. vii., p. 153.

to the entreaties of his wife, and gently, but firmly, conveyed to her his final determination that they must part; leaving to her the disposal of her younger daughter, the Countess of Oxford, whilst he retained the elder, the Lady Mary de Coucy, with him in France¹. He also forwarded to King Richard a formal renunciation of all the lands he held in England, and of all homage due to an English sovereign². He even returned the insignia of the Order of the Garter, which he no longer considered himself at liberty to wear, consistently with his duty to his liege lord, the King of France³, declaring his determination

¹ *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 239. *Abrégé de la Vie*, &c., p. 309.

² *Fine Roll*, 2 Rich. II., m. 26.

³ The letter sent on this occasion is so characteristic as to deserve translation; it is in Norman French, and runs as follows:—

“Most honourable and puissant Sire—Your high and honourable lordship knows well the alliance which, by the grace and bounty of my most honoured and redoubted lord and father, the king lately deceased (on whom God have mercy), I have had, and still have, with you; for which, most honoured sire, I thank you as much as I can, or know how.

“Now it has happened that war has arisen between my natural and sovereign lord, on the one part, and you on the other, at which I grieve more than at anything that could happen in this world, and would it could be remedied; but my lord has commanded and required me to serve him, and acquit myself of my duty, as I am bound to do; whom, as you know well, I ought not to disobey; so I will serve him to the best of my power, as I ought to do.

“Wherefore, most honourable and puissant lord, in order that no one may, in any wise, speak or say a thing against me, or against my honour, I acquaint you with the aforesaid things, and return to you all that I may hold from you in faith or homage.

“And also, most honoured sire, my most redoubted lord and father above named was pleased to ordain and place me in the most noble company and Order of the Garter; so let it please your most noble and puissant lordship to provide in my place whomsoever you may please, and therein hold me excused.

“Most honoured and redoubted sire, I pray our Lord to give you a good and long life. Written the 26th day of August.—The SIRE DE COUCY.”

A memorandum endorsed on the letter records that it was presented to the king, duly addressed and folded in blank paper, by a certain page, in the presence of several lords, esquires, and others, sent over by De Coucy to witness its delivery, on the day after the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude. *Fœdera*, vol. vii., p. 172.

that his last services should be devoted to that monarch who had received his earliest vows, and immediately entered the ranks of King Charles of France¹.

The sorrow-stricken Isabella bade a final adieu to her husband and child, and returned once more to England. On her arrival, she found herself in an embarrassing position, for her husband's renunciation of allegiance had been followed by the forfeiture of all the estates which they had jointly held, and, consequently, Isabella was reduced at once from dignity and affluence to comparative beggary; she therefore laid her case before the parliament, whose sittings had just commenced². The young king, her nephew, or rather her brothers, who were the regents of England, did all in their power to soften the trials of the worse than widowed countess. Letters-patent were issued in the king's name, in which he declares, that, "considering the nobleness of descent of his dearest aunt, who sprang from royal ancestry, and desiring that, as long as she remains in England, she shall, as is fitting, be able to maintain and govern her estate honourably, he, by the assent of the prelates and nobles then assembled in parliament, has delivered the whole of the manors, hamlets, honours, domains, towns, lands, tenements, animals, provender, goods and chattels, forfeited by her husband, into the hands of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and four other commissioners, to appropriate the entire revenues of them to the use of his said aunt, so long as she remains in England."

But the prudent regents, finding perhaps that Isabella still clung, with tenacious affection, to the husband from whom she was parted, added a proviso, that if, during the continuance of the war between England and France, the

¹ Nicolas's Knightage, p. 52. L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xii., p. 239. He was employed on two several missions to Bretagne and to Germany, by the French monarch, during the year 1378. *Duchesne, Hist. de la Maison de Coucy; preuves*, p. 416.

² See Appendix, No. VII.

countess, either voluntarily or at her husband's command, should leave England, or De Coucy try to induce her to transmit any part of her revenues to him for his use, then the whole estates should be forfeited to the crown. This patent bears date November 27, 1377¹; and the following February, 1378, the value of the lands in question was ascertained, and they were formally committed into the hands of the archbishop and the other trustees².

The pecuniary affairs of the Lady Isabella were now placed on a footing which rendered her independent. In addition to the grants of her nephew, she enjoyed a revenue of 300 marks per annum, bequeathed by her father, for her support and that of her daughter, from the estates of her son-in-law, the Earl of Oxford, during his minority³.

But all this seeming prosperity availed little against the sorrow of worse than widowhood that was silently hastening her to the tomb. The last mention of the Lady de Coucy occurs in April 1379, when we find a record of the delivery of the robes of the Garter to "the Lady Isabella de Coucy, Countess of Bedford." She as well as her daughter, the Countess of Oxford⁴, was lady companion of that honourable order, and retained her rank notwithstanding its renunciation by her husband.

The ladies of the order wore a garter, similar to that of the knights, on their left arm. Their robes were annually given out of the royal wardrobe, and were of the same colour and materials as those of the knights, embroidered with numerous small garters, each containing the motto.

¹ Patent Roll, 1 Rich. II., pt. 3, m. 5. Collect. non imp., Addit. MS., 4591, Art. 53. This document, which contains a full recapitulation of the grants made to Isabella, both before and after the marriage, is printed at full in Appendix, No. VII.

² *Fœdera*, vol. vii., p. 214.

³ *Nicolas' Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i., p. 10. *Nichols' Royal Wills*, p. 62.

⁴ *Nicolas' Knights of the Garter*, p. 486.

It is not probable that either Isabella or her youthful daughter would attend the chivalric festival of the tournament which was held that year at Windsor, on the celebration of St. George's day; for within but one short month after that date, the Lady de Coucy closed her chequered career. Such was the quiet retirement in which she lived, during her last days, that the chroniclers of Richard II. take no note whatever of the date of her death, and it is only casually ascertained by an entry in the Easter issue roll of the second year of that monarch, which records a payment, made on Wednesday, the 4th of May, to a servant of the Lady Isabella, *late* daughter of Edward, late King of England¹.

She was privately interred at the church of the Greyfriars, commonly called Christ Church, Aldgate, at the head of the tomb of Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I.² The only monumental memorial by which she was commemorated, was the sculpture of her figure in bas-relief on a niche, in the side of the tomb of her father, and also of her mother, Queen Philippa, where similar memorials were erected to many of her brothers and sisters³. By those of them who survived her, the memory of the Lady Isabella was long cherished with affectionate tenderness. They protected her servants⁴, and watched with kindly regard over her young and orphan child.

Betrothed, as we have seen, in early life, to the young Earl of Oxford, the worthless favourite of Richard II., after-

¹ The correctness of this date is confirmed by the fact that the second marriage of Ingelram de Coucy took place the following year, 1380.

² Stow's Survey, p. 119, 8vo. edit. Sandford, p. 178.

³ Blore's Monumental Remains.

⁴ The Wardrobe Book of John of Gaunt for the year 1380-1, preserved in the office of the duchy of Lancaster, records a payment to a quire of his dear sister, the Lady de Coucy.

wards elevated to the dukedom of Ireland¹, Philippa de Coucy was treated by him with an indignity that excited the vehement resentment, not only of her uncles, but of the nation in general. He divorced her to marry a young Bohemian damsel who had come to England in the train of Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II.; and the king was weak enough to permit this abandonment of a lady, whom, as his cousin, the double tie of relationship and honour bound him to protect; and who, by contemporary testimony, was said to be "a handsome lady and a good, and of the noblest and highest attractions that could be," and to be neglected by her husband "through pure presumption and nonchalance²."

The general indignation at this unworthy conduct was shared by the mother of the Duke of Ireland. She took Philippa under her own protection, gave her an establishment, as handsome as she could afford, and did her utmost to console her³.

The anger of the Duke of Gloucester and the other nobles was at length evidenced by an appeal to arms, and resulted in the defeat and flight of the Duke of Ireland. An attainder was passed against him, followed by a sentence of perpetual banishment, in consequence of which he never returned to England⁴. He died at Louvaine, in 1390.

After the death of her husband, Philippa was treated

¹ Cotton's Abridgment, p. 310.

² Anselme, vol. viii., p. 545. John of Malvern, Middlehill MS. 1029, f. 16. Lidgate places the Duke of Ireland among his "kings and princes unfortunate," and commemorates him as follows:

"This Duke of Ireland, of England chamberlain,
Which in plesaunce so he led his life,
Till fortune of his wealth had disdain,
That, causeless, he parted was from his wife,
Which ground was of great debate and strife,
And his destruction, if I shall not lie;
For banned he was, and did in *mischief* (misfortune) die."

³ Froissart, vol. viii., p. 333.

⁴ Ibid., p. 347.

with more distinction by King Richard, who bestowed on her several additional manors belonging to the De Coucy property, and other gifts¹, which were confirmed by Henry IV.², who also restored her dower lands as Countess of Oxford³. She was in frequent attendance on the juvenile dowager Queen of Richard II., Isabella of France, and attended the Queen on her return to France in 1401⁴. The last mention we find of her is in the same year, when she entered into a full and formal compact with her sister Mary, that the latter should be sole heiress of the French, and she of the English estates of the family⁵.

The Lord de Coucy survived his forsaken wife nearly twenty years, which were marked by the same spirit of enterprise and honourable integrity that had hitherto characterized his conduct. In 1380, he generously declined the offer of the staff of Constable of France, made to him by Charles V., in behalf of Oliver de Clisson, whose appointment he considered likely to conciliate the province of Brittany, which had long been in a state of disturbance⁶. The king rewarded his disinterestedness by making him governor of Picardy. On the death of that monarch, the same year, he was appointed one of the council of regency during the minority of Charles VI., and employed on several important negotiations.

His next military enterprise was to assist the Duke of Anjou in his attempt to conquer Naples; and on the death of the duke, in 1384, he lent his strong arm to pro-

¹ Patent Calendar, p. 235 b. Privy Seal Bills, Hen. IV., Chapter-House Documents, B. v. 2, No. 47, Rolls House.

² Patent Roll, 1 Hen. IV., pt. 7, m. 40. Lansdowne MS., 296, f. 101.

³ Parl. Roll, 2 Henry IV. Cotton's Abridgm., p. 407.

⁴ Archæologia, vol. xx., p. 227. Nicolas' Privy Council Acts, vol. i., p. 136.

⁵ Patent Roll, 2 Hen. IV., pt. 4, m. 16. Lansdowne MS., 304, f. 360.

⁶ Abrégé de la Vie, &c., p. 310. Duplessis, p. 91. Duchesne, Preuves, p. 435.

tect his widow and young son¹. In 1390, he accompanied the Duke of Bourbon to succour the Genoese against the attacks of the Mahommedans; an expedition which, says Froissart, would have been much more successful, had the Lord de Coucy been the commander². In 1396, he was persuaded by the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, to accompany the army sent into Hungary, under their son, John de Nevers, to combat the Turks; an honour

¹ Froissart, vol. iv., p. 304. Duplessis, p. 99. The Cottonian MS., Vespasian F. ix., contains an original letter of the Lord de Coucy, dated October 22, 1384, on behalf of certain soldiers and captains, addressed to the lords and defenders of the city of Sens. He styles himself "Inguerammus Dominus de Contiaco, et Suessionen, et Bedefortis comes, Capitanus Generalis."

² During this campaign, a picturesque incident occurred, which shows that De Coucy possessed a cool and sagacious judgment as well as military enthusiasm.

A Saracen, named Agadingoror, came near the French camp, where he happened to meet with a squire, called Affrenal, with whom he entered into long disputes on religion; the two champions, not being able amicably to settle their theological differences, agreed to leave them to be decided by a combat of twenty knights, ten to be chosen from each army. The combat was to take place after an interval of four hours. Affrenal hastened to the camp to carry out his part of the agreement, and first met two French nobles, Guy and William de la Tremouille, who gladly volunteered to be of the number of combatants. The ten men were soon secured, somewhat to the displeasure of those who heard of the engagement too late to offer themselves. The host all rejoiced in the prospective combat, except De Coucy, who used many arguments to dissuade them from the enterprise. He spoke, in particular, of the insubordination of armies, where private soldiers accept challenges which involve the honour of nations, said that Affrenal should have replied to the Saracen that he was not general of the host, but one of the least of the soldiers, and should have invited him to come to the camp, under his safe-conduct, and have brought him before the Duke of Bourbon. Had the proposal been agreed to by the general, he would have chosen the combatants most suitable, and would not have allowed them to be elected by chance. These remonstrances made an impression upon the army; but some of the chiefs replied that, as arms were undertaken, they would be accused of cowardice, were they to run off from the engagement. Accordingly, at the appointed time, ten champions, well attired, sallied forth; but they met no opposing foes. Either the Saracen host were too wise to expose their valiant knights in a fruitless encounter, or their subordination to discipline was too strict for them to consent to this unauthorized engagement. *Froissart, vol. x., p. 213 et seq.*

which he declined, in the first instance, on the ground that so many able leaders were going with the army, that his services would be superfluous; and only when strongly urged, did he consent to accept it. The army consisted of 2000 lords, with all their vassals; and, in the first encounter that took place, in which² 15,000 or 20,000 Turks were left dead on the field, De Coucy greatly distinguished himself. But the fatal battle of Nicopolis, which speedily followed, obliterated the memory of this triumph. It was lost, from the obstinacy of the French lords, in refusing to follow the advice of De Coucy, who strongly urged the propriety of stationing the Hungarians in the van of the host, since they were familiar with the modes of Turkish warfare. Jealous of precedence, even in danger, the French scorned this prudent counsel, and their army received a terrible overthrow, in which the flower of the French nobility were killed, or made prisoners. Among the latter, was the Lord de Coucy. He was led captive to Bursa, in Bithynia, where he fell a victim to the plague, on the 18th of February, 1397¹. The heart of this last male heir of the ancient house of De Coucy was brought back to France, and placed in the church of the Celestines, which he had founded at Soissons, in 1390². Another of the prisoners at the battle of Nicopolis was De Coucy's son-in-law, Henry, eldest son of Robert Duke of Bar, to whom in 1303 he had married his daughter and heiress, the lady Mary³. Thus left a widow and

¹ L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xii., p. 242. Abrégé de la Vie, &c., p. 315. Duplessis, p. 103.

² A spirited sketch of De Coucy's character is given by Barry St. Leger, in his "Froissart and his times," vol. iii., p. 110. For farther details relating to him, see Froissart, vol. iv., pp. 317, 322, 331, 370; v., pp. 9, 181, 189, &c., 201, 216, 226, 237; vi., pp. 169, 367, 383; vii., pp. 1, 30, 38; viii., p. 104; ix., pp. 131, 155, 163, 182, 221, 223, 238; x., pp. 1, 3, 9, 12, 33, 129, 188, 197, 208, 235, 239, 246-8, 252, 335, 346, 367; xi., pp. 30, 169, 208, 231, 252, 292, 294; xii., p. 1, Johnes' edit.

³ Abrégé de la Vie, &c., p. 296. Louis d'Orleans sent a messenger purposely to try to effect the ransom of De Coucy and his son; but both fell victims to the pestilence before this could be accomplished.

unprotected, Mary was compelled, by the threats or entreaties of Louis Duke of Orleans, to sell him part of her lands¹. She died in 1404, not without suspicion of poison; and her son, Robert de Bar, leaving no child, the remainder of the proud inheritance of the De Coucys passed, by the marriage of her only daughter Joanna with the heir of Luxembourg, into the hands of that family, and thence to the house of Bourbon; and was at length united to the crown of France².

The writers of the day unite in depicting Ingelram de Coucy as the model of a chevalier "*sans peur et sans reproche*," and that, in an age distinguished by such knights as Bertrand du Guesclin, Oliver de Clisson, Sir Walter Mauny, and Edward the Black Prince. They describe him as equally remarkable for eloquence in negotiation, and for intrepidity in the battle-field³. His gallantry to the fair sex is proved by the curious fact, that he instituted an order of chivalry, entitled "*La Couronne*," to which ladies and damsels, as well as knights and squires, were admitted⁴, and of which even monarchs disdained not to become members⁵. His love for literature is seen in the patronage he bestowed on the chronicler Froissart, whom he warmly befriended for many years. As a father, his character is slightly noticed; but a record of the year 1389, mentioning his sending over a special

Chronicle of the death of King Richard, edited for the English Historical Society, by B. Williams, Esq., p. 166, note.

¹ Duchesne, *Preuves*, p. 425. Many proceedings in reference to the disposal of the lands are printed in Duchesne.

² Duchesne, p. 275. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 243. Anselme, *Hist. Généal.*, vol. viii., p. 545. Sandford, p. 178.

³ A proof of this is preserved by Froissart, vol. vi., p. 16. The city of Paris, being in a state of insurrection on account of some newly-appointed taxes, the king, Charles V., and his uncles sent for De Coucy as the fittest man to still the tumult; which he effected to the satisfaction of all parties.

⁴ This fact is elicited by M. Zurlauben in his valuable "*Abrégé de la Vie d'Enguerrand de Coucy*," so often quoted."

⁵ Duplessis, p. 89.

messenger to England, to see and converse with his daughter Philippa, "from his great desire to know certainly of her welfare," shows that not even the lapse of many years of separation had caused him to forget his child¹; and when her worthless husband, the Duke of Ireland, sought refuge in France after his banishment, the wrath of her angry father pursued him; and though Ingelram had not influence enough to prevent the duke's reception, in the first instance, at the court of France, yet he soon prevailed upon the king to banish him to Louvaine, where he died, neglected and despised².

The only questionable action on the part of De Coucy, is his abandonment of his wife; but his conduct does not appear to have resulted from a diminution of affection towards her. The whole tenour of his character gives confirmation to the keen sense of knightly honour, which was the plea assigned, and proves that, with him, it was not a mere pretext³. After her decease, he married Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Lorraine⁴, but her conduct was not calculated to promote his happiness, if we may judge by a specimen of it in her after-life, furnished by Froissart. She was sent to England as the governess of

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. vii., p. 636.

² Froissart, vol. ix., p. 144; vol. x., p. 10. When this chronicler came over to England, the Lord de Coucy gave him letters of introduction to his daughter, the Duchess of Ireland. Prevented by political reasons from visiting England himself, De Coucy had an interview with Philippa during the conferences at Amiens. *Ibid.*, vol. x., p. 355. Duplessis, p. 100.

³ Duchesne, in his "*Histoire de la Maison de Coucy*," p. 273, mentions "Perceval, bastard de Coucy," as a natural son of Ingelram, but the documents which he cites in support of this, *Preuves*, p. 440, merely mention him as a bastard of the house of Coucy, without at all identifying him as the son of Ingelram.

⁴ He had by her a daughter, named Isabella. The gratitude of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, in compliance with whose wishes he had undertaken the expedition that terminated so fatally for him, led them to marry this child, in 1409, to one of their own sons, Philip of Burgundy, Count of Nevers. She had only one child, who died without issue. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. xii., p. 243. *Anselme, Hist. Généal.*, vol. viii., p. 545. *Duchesne, preuves*, p. 436.

the young queen of Richard II., but the king so strongly reprobated the extravagance of her proceedings that he dismissed her in disgrace¹.

So fondly did the Earl Ingelram cling to the memory of his first wife that, eleven years after her death, when he had erected the church of the Celestines, at Soissons, already alluded to, which he destined for his burial-place, and placed therein his own monumental effigy, he erected by its side a companion statue, not of Isabella of Lorraine, but of the object of his first and lasting affection, Isabella of England. At the suppression of the convent of the Celestines, M. de Bourdeville, then Bishop of Soissons, sent these statues to the surviving representatives of the family of De Coucy².

¹ She was accused of taking as much state upon her as though she had been the queen, keeping a large train of servants in her husband's liveries, and constantly employing two or three goldsmiths, cutlers, and furriers about her own decorations. *Chronicle of the betrayal and death of King Richard*, pp. 165-6. Much confusion exists concerning the lady or ladies of Coucy living in the time of Richard II. See *Archæologia*, vol. xx., p. 227. It should be remembered that there were, in the year 1397, four Ladies de Coucy: 1st, Isabella of Lorraine, widow of Ingelram VII., who afterwards married Stephen of Bavaria, father of Isabella, Queen of France, but retained to her death the title of Lady de Coucy; 2nd, Mary de Coucy, eldest daughter of Ingelram and Isabella of England, widow of Henry of Bar; 3rd, Philippa de Coucy, their younger daughter, usually styled Countess of Oxford or Duchess of Ireland; 4th, Isabella de Coucy, daughter of Ingelram by his second wife. That the *first* of these ladies must have been the Lady de Coucy, named by Froissart as attending the queen of Richard II., seems evident, because Froissart distinctly states that she "went home to her husband and daughter," and no other Lady de Coucy had husband and daughter at that time. She and the Lady Mary are the two Ladies de Coucy to whom Froissart alludes as being left widows in the year 1397, as the result of the battle of Bajazet.

² Of which, it is said, a branch still remains. *Maurice, sur la Maison De Coucy, et sur la branche De Vervin encore existante.*

JOANNA,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III.

CHAPTER VI.

Birth—Education by the Countess of Pembroke—Betrothed to the son of the Duke of Austria—Delay of the king in sending her thither—Joanna goes with her parents to Antwerp—Accompanies the king to Coblentz—Her residence at the imperial court—Discourteously treated—Sent to Austria—Change of policy—Joanna sent for home—Returns to Ghent—The queen and her family attacked by the French—Arrival of King Edward—Birth of John of Ghent—Joanna returns to the Tower—Her industry—Illness—English council unwilling to send her to Austria—Death of Frederic—Negotiation for marriage with Peter of Castile—Intrigues of Philip of Valois—Enormous dower promised by Edward—Edward seeks the favour of the Queen of Castile and Eleanora de Guzman—Master Andrew, Joanna's procurator—Preparations for her departure—Delay from fear of Eleanora de Guzman's schemes—Fleet provided for Joanna's passage—Letters of Edward to the King and Queen of Castile—Sumptuous outfit of Joanna—Journey to Plymouth—Detention by contrary winds—Set sail March 21st—Arrival at Bordeaux—Ambassadors go forward to Castile—Return to Joanna at Bordeaux—Plague at Bordeaux—Removal of Joanna to Loremo—Seized by plague—Death—Grief of her parents—Letter of Edward to Peter—his kindness to Joanna's attendants—Statue in Westminster Abbey.

THE second daughter of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, was born at the Tower of London, towards the close of the year 1333, The date of her birth is not mentioned by contemporary authorities, and therefore the exact day cannot be ascertained; but her name occurs, for the first time, in the wardrobe accounts, in the latter end of that year¹.

¹ Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., Queen's Rememb., sub anno 7 Edw. III.

When still an infant, the care of her nurture and early training was confided to Mary of St. Paul, widowed Countess of Pembroke¹. This lady, who was of the royal blood of England², was remarkable for her attachment to learning and religion. She was the foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge³, and of a nunnery at Denney, in Cambridgeshire, and was also a liberal benefactress of the Grey Friars' Church, in London⁴. Her name is found among the earliest patronesses of literature in England. She was, therefore, in every way qualified for the important charge committed to her. She employed, as sub-gouvernante over her royal ward, the lady Isabella de la Mote, a French lady of rank, then resident in England, where she possessed some property. The confiscation of all lands belonging to the French, when war

¹ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i., p. 99.

² She was Mary de Chatillon, third wife of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and daughter of Guy de Chatillon, Comte de St. Pol, by Mary of Bretagne, grand-daughter of Henry III.

³ Barnes' *Edw. III.*, p. 286. Mills' *Catalogue of Nobility*, p. 1096. Patent Roll, 22 *Edw. III.*, pt. 2, m. 32. Many notices of her are found on the Record Rolls of *Edw. II.* and *III.* See Patents 14 *Edw. II.*, pt. 1, m. 4; 15 *Edw. II.*, pt. 1, m. 20; 5 *Edw. III.*, pt. 1, m. 1, pt. 2, m. 31; 6 *Edw. III.*, pt. 2, m. 29; 7, pt. 1, m. 22; 9, pt. 1, m. 9; 10, pt. 1, mm. 24, 44; 12, pt. 1, m. 11; 16, pt. 2, m. 42; 20, pt. 1, m. 6, and pt. 2, m. 18; 21, pt. 3, m. 7. See also Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i., p. 98 et seq. A portrait of this lady is engraved in Strutt's *Antiquities*, plate iv., from Cotton. MS., Nero D. vii. The following slight sketch of her character occurs in one of the Harleian MSS., No. 6217, f. 10:

"Of the death of the Countess of Pembroke, and of her good deeds.

"The 17th day of April, 1377, died the Lady Mary of St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, a woman of singular example, for, yet living, so to the honour of God and glory of her house, so in relieving poor men's necessities, she spent her goods, that unto the dukes themselves she showed examples of good works; and, dying, she gave all her substance either to her servants that waited on her or to divers churches as to poor folk; for unto the church of St. Albans she gave a certain image of silver and gilt with gold, of St. Vincent, which holdeth in its hands a certain spoon wherein is contained one bone of the same blessed martyr, and singular relics of all the martyrs and confessors, to whose honour they were made when she had obtained the benefit of her prayer."

⁴ Dugdale, vol. i., p. 778.

broke out between the two countries, reduced her to the necessity of accepting this post; and she filled it so much to the satisfaction of the king, that he commanded her lands to be restored¹. But though thus rendered independent, she still remained in the service of the princess².

Joanna had not completed her second year, before her father began to treat of her marriage with Frederic, eldest son of Otho, regnant Duke of Austria, in conjunction with his brother Albert; and, in the course of the two following years, the treaty was so far concluded, that the king agreed to send over the little princess, to be educated in the Austrian court³. In the Tower collection of letters, are still preserved two original epistles, relating to this union; the one from Edward III. to Duke Otho, dated from Woodstock, June 4, 1336; the other from the youthful Frederic, the bridegroom elect, styling himself, "Duke of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, Earl of Hapsburg and Kyburgh, and Landgrave of Alsace," to his "dearest father," King Edward, expressing his great satisfaction at the nuptials arranged by his father, between himself and "the illustrious lady Joanna, the king's daughter," and declaring his entire willingness to fulfil the marriage.

Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality, King Edward was reluctant to fulfil that part of the treaty which referred to delivering up the princess; and he so long postponed her transmission, that the duke sent a message of inquiry concerning the cause of the delay. The king replied, that on account of the pirates who infested the neighbouring seas, he had felt reluctant to trust his child, and requested permission to detain her until he himself should be able to escort her, in a con-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 987. From Close Roll, 11 Edw. III.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 929, 940. Patent Roll, 9 Edw. III., pt. 2, mm. 5, 26.

³ German Roll, 11 Edw. III., m. 1.

templated visit to the continent¹. These excuses did not satisfy the duke, and he dispatched a second messenger, Sir Henry Gauler, to convey the princess into Germany. But King Edward was not to be shaken from his resolution. He wrote to Duke Otho, assuring him that he still continued firm in his desire to fulfil all the stipulations of the marriage treaty; but that, as to the journey of the princess, he must decline entrusting her to his ambassador. He would retain Sir Henry to accompany himself and the young lady, when he should go over to Flanders, which would certainly be in the following year, and entreated the duke not to be incensed at so short a delay².

Accordingly, in the month of April 1338, the king withdrew his child, now five years old, from the kindly custody of the Lady of Pembroke, who had spared neither labour nor expense in her attentions to her young charge; in gratitude for which services, the king bestowed upon her for life, the manor of Strode, in Kent. It seems pretty evident that the cost of Joanna's maintenance had devolved upon her governess, since compensation for her expenses is expressly named in the grant of this manor³, and no allowance is recorded to have been granted from the royal exchequer for the support of the princess, although her dresses were supplied from the royal wardrobe⁴.

Preparations were now made for the departure of the royal party, and "a certain pallet was provided for the Lady Joanna, the king's daughter, on her passage to foreign parts in a ship." They set out on their voyage, and on the 22nd of July, landed at Antwerp⁵.

At first the queen and princess lodged at a private

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 996.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1001.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1031.

⁴ *Wardrobe Roll*, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., sub annis 7, 8, 10, 11 Edw. III.

⁵ *French Chron.*, ad ann. 1383 *Cotton. MS.*, Julius E. vi. f. 121 b. 992

residence, belonging to a Fleming bearing the euphonious name of Sirkyn Fordul; but, to their alarm, the house took fire, probably on account of the extensive culinary preparations necessary to entertain the royal guests¹, and they were driven to seek shelter in the convent of St. Michael. The abbot and monks received them with such courteous hospitality, that the king fixed upon this abode as suitable to be the head-quarters of his queen; and he himself remained there some time with her and the princess. The brotherhood were afterwards liberally rewarded for their hospitable attentions, by the gift of a valuable church living in England².

Of the pleasant ramblings enjoyed by the royal sojourners among the verdant plains that surround the

¹ The king paid 84*l.* to compensate him for the loss sustained. This and many subsequent details are furnished by a valuable Wardrobe Book, 12—16 Edw. III., among the Chapter-House Records, now transferred to the Rolls House, marked A., v. 9.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1102. The terms of this grant are very courteous. The king informs the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom he writes on the subject, that, "on our arrival at Antwerp, the abbot and convent of St. Michael had received us, our consort and children, and our *army*, coming into Brabant, into their monastery, and liberally entertained us; and because we found the place convenient, we tarried a long time there, and there our son (Lionel) was born and baptized; and our consort, now *enceinte*, is still there, and presently to be delivered under happy auspices. And because our stay has been expensive and injurious to them, we have granted to those monks the right of patronage of the rectory of Thingdon, in the diocese of Lincoln. Antwerp, 19th December."

The appendix to the first volume of Buchon's edition of Froissart's Chronicle contains some particulars of a "vow to the heron," one of the quaint chivalric fantasies of the day, made by Queen Philippa in anticipation of her infant's birth. Several curious entries, relating to the queen at this period, are found in the wardrobe account already noticed, such as payments to Ludekin the piper, and other minstrels of the Duke of Brabant and Earl of Gueldres, playing before her on the day of her "uprising," at Antwerp; to the singing boys of the cathedral of Antwerp, who sang before the king and queen in their chamber, on Innocents' day, December 28th; to the queen's minstrels, sent to meet the king and play before him on his return from Germany; to a surgeon of Hainault, a countryman of the queen, summoned by her to attend Prince Lionel, &c., &c., *Wardrobe Book*, 12—16 Edw. III., ff. 200, 204, 210, &c.

walls of the ancient city of Antwerp, of their devotions in its numerous churches, or their excursions upon its noble river, the only remaining notice is, that, on the 17th of August, the king and his family rowed across the Scheldt, perchance to the headland, now distinguished as the "*tête de Flandres*," on a trip of pleasure.

Having previously failed in his attempts to engage the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, to take an active part in the continental campaign, King Edward resolved to seek a personal interview with him, and at the same time to avail himself of the opportunity of conveying Joanna thus far on her route towards Austria.

The Imperial court travelled from Munich as far as Coblenz, to meet the King of England. On the 20th of August, attended by a brilliant train, King Edward and his little daughter left Antwerp, accompanied by the queen; unwilling to separate from her child until compelled to do so, she escorted them awhile on their journey. They reached Herenthals and were lodged at the house of a peasant named Podenot de Lippe, who, with his wife Catherine, used every effort to entertain the royal guests, by spreading out a rural supper for them in their garden. But they had to pay penalty for their courtesy; the trampling of the numerous attendants well nigh ruined their ground. The king generously compensated them for the damage they had incurred, besides paying a handsome sum for the expenses of the entertainment¹.

At Herenthals the queen bid a reluctant farewell to her daughter, and left her to prosecute her journey under her father's protection and that of the Lady de la Mote, who was to attend her to Austria. They conducted her forward to Stockheim, thence, across the Meuse, to Sittard, Julich, and Cologne. On their arrival at this ancient city, such was the press of strangers eager to obtain a

¹ 46s. 8d. were paid for the supper, and 22s. 6d. for the damage done to the garden.

glance at the King and Princess of England, that besides a train of sixty-six archers who were in constant attendance, four additional servants were engaged, to help the door-keeper of the king's gate to prevent the entrance of intruders upon the royal privacy. From Cologne they embarked upon the Rhine, and sailed up its fine expanse of waters to Bonn. At this place, for many years the residence of the Archbishops of Cologne, they landed for a night. They were received by the archbishop in person, at the head of a band of minstrels, and were entertained with sumptuous magnificence. Their next advance was to the romantic island of Nonnenwerth, where they arrived on the 28th of August, and found their baggage, which had been sent by water from Antwerp. The minstrels of the emperor, of the Archbishop of Treves, and other German magnates, met them on this island, and their musical greetings, amidst scenery so wild and exciting, and the constant influx of illustrious visitants, must have presented a new phase of existence to the young Joanna. One pause more at Andernach, where they were lodged in the monastery of the friars minor, brought the king and his daughter to Coblenz. At a little distance from the city, they were met by an imperial barge, with a band of musicians on board; as this came near the vessel in which the king sailed, the emperor's falconer stepped forward, and, after a courtly compliment of welcome, presented Edward with an eagle, sent by his master, as a symbol of his wish to confer upon him the highest possible honour.

At Coblenz, a dazzling scene presented itself, for Louis had assembled all the chief princes of the empire to do honour to the visit of the King of England. Thrones were erected in the market-place for the emperor and the king, and, in this glittering assembly, the dignity of vicar-general of the empire was conferred on King Edward¹.

¹ Cotton. MS., Julius, E. vi., f. 121. b. Walsingham, p. 132. J.

Duke Otho of Austria, the father-in-law elect of the princess, was amongst the courtly ranks. He wished to escort her to his own dominions; but the empress-consort of Louis of Bavaria, Margaret of Hainault, was the elder sister of Queen Philippa, though greatly her inferior in nobility of character; and, as the result perhaps of some preconcerted arrangement between the sisters,—the empress requested permission to detain her niece for some time at her own court, in companionship with her infant children. The close alliance of the imperial court with that of Austria, cemented by a marriage between the son of Louis and the sister of the Austrian dukes, inclined Duke Otho to consent to this arrangement. The empress received the child with much apparent affection, and promised to take every care of her.

King Edward remained only a few days at Coblentz. On his departure he consigned his daughter to the guardianship of Lord John de Montgomery, who was provided with ample funds for her expenses¹. She travelled, in company with the empress, her aunt, to Munich, the residence of Louis of Bavaria, and there abode for nearly a year, her baggage and attendance, with every additional provision deemed necessary for her comfort, being transmitted thither by her mother².

During this period no pains were spared by King Edward to engage the emperor to a hearty coalition against France. Large sums were handed over to him by way of loan³, and every member of the imperial

Naucler. Chronog. Fol. Cologne, 1589, vol. ii., p. 1000. Particulars of this transaction, irrelevant here, are given at large by the contemporaneous chroniclers, but several English writers place the scene at Cologne instead of Coblentz.

¹ He was first summoned to Parliament as a baron, by writ in 1342; but this mention of him proves that he possessed his title several years earlier. He was admiral of the king's fleet. *Nicolas' Synopsis, vol. i., p. 442. Patent Roll, 16 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 18. French Roll, 21 Edw. III. m. 35.*

² Wardrobe Account, ut sup., f. 184.

³ Amounting during three years to £8,227. *Ibid.*, f. 32.

household, from the chancellor and counsellors to the physician, the secretaries, and even the clerks of the chancery, received propitiatory gifts; whilst magnificent presents in jewellery were lavished upon the emperor, the empress, and their son, the Marquis of Brandenburg, by the king¹. The agent employed in these benefactions was Joanna's protector, Lord John de Montgomery. Queen Philippa, interested equally as a queen and a mother, in securing the friendly feeling of her sister and brother-in-law, sent secret presents of jewels to the empress², whose disposition she well knew to be sensitively alive to the potency of such appeals, and paid considerable bribes to Ida, her lady-secretary. The young princess herself carried out the design, by presenting, in person, rich gifts to the officers of the emperor and empress.

Yet this system of extensive bribery proved unavailing to secure either the political co-operation of the emperor in the war with France³, or the exercise of kindly generosity towards the Lady Joanna. Indeed, after the

¹ Wardrobe Account, ut sup., f. 196.

² Ibid., f. 185. It was by bribing the empress that the French ultimately succeeded in breaking off the alliance between Louis of Bavaria and Edward III. *Ruteau, Annales d'Haynau, fol. Mons., 1638, p. 337.*

³ Klerk's "Rymkronick van deu derden Edward, coninc van Engeland," written in 1347, but printed for the first time in 1840, by Willems, Gand, 8vo. This chronicler was an eye and ear-witness of many of the events that he details. He tells us that, on King Edward's finding himself disappointed of the promised imperial succours, he declared that "God the Almighty Father had done this entirely for his good; for if the emperor had taken part in this affair, and God had blessed his efforts, then men would have given him all the glory of the victory, whoever might have deserved it; and, moreover, as the emperor was under the ban of Rome, he could, without him, better recommend his cause to God." This emperor Louis was never acknowledged by the papal see, which favoured the claims of the rival emperors, Frederic of Austria and Charles of Luxembourg. See *Baluzius, Vitæ Papparum, vol. i., p. 201.* A long deprecatory letter from Pope Benedict XI. to Edward, against his recognition of Louis as emperor, is in Cottonian MSS., Titus, A. xix., f. 32, and Vitellius, A. xx., fol. 52.

lapse of a few months, so illiberal was the treatment she experienced, that her father was obliged to supply her with money to provide the necessaries of life. The often-quoted wardrobe account records payments, not only for the dress and adornings of the princess, and for the silver services for her table, but also for food, purchased for herself and her attendants, "when they had not sufficient meat and drink, allowed by the emperor and empress¹."

After some months spent in this uncomfortable position, the Austrian duke renewed his solicitations for the little princess to be allowed to proceed to his court²; and in the autumn of 1339, King Edward sent a commission to Lord John de Montgomery, to remove his daughter thither; at the same time he sent him rich presents to offer, in the name of the princess, to each city they passed through, in the dominions over which Joanna was designed to be future duchess³.

The preceding spring had deprived her young *fiancé*, Frederic, of his father, Duke Otho; and, therefore, the princess remained under the protection of the regnant Duke Albert, Frederic's uncle and guardian. Scarcely had she been placed in this new position, when Edward, ascertaining that the inclinations of Duke Albert were strongly swayed towards France, resolved that the contract between the Austrian prince and his daughter should be dissolved, and forthwith summoned Joanna to return home. Perhaps this was done in compliance with the princess' wishes, for she had held several private communications with her father; she had sent her valet on confidential business to him in November, and again in December; and by the same trusty hand his letters of reply were conveyed to her.

¹ Ward. Acct., ut sup., f. 184.

² Walsingham, p. 133.

³ Ward. Acct., ut sup., ff. 184, 200, 201.

Messengers were dispatched several times, to induce the king to alter his purpose; but in vain. So reluctant was Albert to relinquish his fair ward, that not until the king sent a third demand for her, was she permitted to depart. Her homeward journey was commenced in the month of April 1340, and lasted fifty days. She travelled in considerable state, followed by two chariots, with twelve horses, and six men, to convey her baggage, when on land. Her route lay up the Danube to Linz, and thence to Munich, but she made no stay at the emperor's court; hastening on by Coblenz, to the castle of Ghent¹, where, after an absence of eighteen months, the liberated child was at length restored to the arms of her rejoicing mother.

When the princess arrived, her father was not at Ghent. Early in February 1340, he was compelled to visit England, to raise the needful supplies of money for the expenses of the war; but, unwilling that his queen should, in her situation, encounter the risks of a sea voyage, and also wishful to comply with the desires of the inhabitants, that he would leave them, in the presence of his family, a pledge "for the surety of his coming again," he decided that Queen Philippa and her young son should remain at Ghent until his return².

The tedium of the king's absence was at first pleasantly relieved by the frequent visits of courtesy paid to the queen by Jacques van Artevelt, the celebrated brewer of Ghent, the political ally of King Edward; and by the burghers and ladies of the city, who availed themselves of the rare opportunity thus offered of access to royalty.

But their social enjoyments were presently disturbed³.

¹ The total expenses of her journey were 132*l.* 10*s.* Ward. Fragm. Queen's Rememb.

² Cron. de Lond., ad ann. 17 Edw. III. Cotton. MS., Cleop. A. vi., f. 90 b.

³ Froissart, vol. i., p. 165.

Philip of France no sooner heard of the absence of his rival, Edward III., in England, than with a want of gallantry that reflects discredit on his knightly honour, he assembled his troops, and resolved to attack Flanders, and if possible, possess himself of the persons of Queen Philippa and her children. He commenced the warfare in good earnest, destroyed many of the towns and castles that had sworn allegiance to Edward, and raised a large fleet to blockade the Flemish harbours and prevent the return of the rival monarch, whilst he "did many harms and shames, and despites unto the queen." Upon which the burghers of Ghent, who felt their honour involved in the safety of the precious pledges committed to their care, sent an imploring message to King Edward, entreating him to hasten over to the rescue, or his wife and children would be taken prisoners to Paris.

"Wherefore when King Edward heard of these tidings, he was strongly aggrieved, and sent divers letters over there to the queen, and to others that were his friends, gladdening and certifying them that he would be there himself in all the haste he might. And anon, after Easter, when he had sped of all things that him needed, he went over the sea again; of whose coming the queen and all his friends were wondrous glad, and made much joy. And all those that were his enemies, and holden against him, made much sorrow¹."

Good cause did the enraged king give his enemies for their "much sorrow;" for it was through one of the most terrible naval engagements, in which the fleet of France was ever compelled to succumb to the triumphant flag of England, that Edward III. fought his way back to congratulate his wife and children on the perils they had escaped².

¹ Cont. Paris, vol. ii., p. 2576. Caxton's Chron., Lambeth MS., 44, sub anno 14 Edw. III.

² Chron. Brute, Lamb. MS., 99, f. 49 b., col. 1. Froissart, vol. i., p. 211. See also, p. 169 supra.

During their residence at Ghent, the queen and her children occupied the ancient *château*, still in existence, of the Earls of Flanders, built A.D. 868, by Baldwin with the iron arm; in which stately abode the queen gave birth, soon after her daughter's arrival, to a son, the celebrated John of Ghent¹. Joanna shared the nursery establishment of her little brother Lionel, then about eighteen months old, the expenses of which, for these two children, were 2*l.* per day².

Shortly afterwards, the princess had the pleasure of welcoming her elder sister, Isabella, who accompanied King Edward on his return to Flanders. After two months of family re-union, both the princesses were sent back to England, attended by Joanna's governess, the Lady de la Mote, and took up their abode in the Tower. Several particulars of their sojourn here, during the absence of their parents, and after their return, have been recorded in the preceding memoir³. It would seem that, through her continental association with the Flemish dames, Joanna had acquired some of their industrious habits. That she had a fancy for embroidery is inferred from the supplies of her working materials; 2*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* were spent in the purchase of "gold thread, silk, pearls, and other necessaries, bought for the Lady Joanna, and delivered in her chamber, for divers works going on there, to do with them at her pleasure;" and again her governess expended 15*s.* upon similar articles. She might possibly be occupied in the manufacture of some lovetoken for the friends she had left behind at the Austrian court, for a few months afterwards we find "John de Holland sent into Germany on the business of the Lady Joanna⁴."

¹ Voisin, Notice Historique sur la ville de Gand, pp. 22, 298.

² Wardrobe Fragment, Queen's Rememb.

³ See pages 170 et seq., supra.

⁴ Roll of the Comptroller of the household of the king's children, 14—15 Edw. III., No. 36, Queen's Rem.

She certainly kept up intercourse with her continental friends, since the queen, soon after her return from abroad, sent Joanna a present of several robes, hoods, surtunics, &c., to be sent by her into transmarine parts¹.

In the spring of 1341, the princess had an attack of illness, and "Master John de Gatesden, the physician," was summoned; by whose skilful care she was soon recovered².

About this time, Duke Albert of Austria, who had succeeded to the sole government, on the death of his brother Otho, wrote to express his wish for the fulfilment of the contract between his nephew and the Lady Joanna, and to request that the princess might again be sent into Austria, to reside there, as before agreed. Whether any predilection, formed by young Frederic for the pretty English child who had, for a short time, been his companion, might have prompted the application, our deponent witnesseth not. - Edward III. laid the matter before a council of his nobles; but they argued, with equal propriety and earnestness, that, as the politics of the emperor, which so greatly influenced those of the Austrian duke, had been fluctuating, and as, even then, it seemed uncertain to which side they would ultimately incline, it would be very unwise to intrust the person of a daughter of the king into such fickle hands. This decision of "the council of his peers," King Edward transmitted to the duke, in a letter, couched in courteous terms, in which he entreated him to bear with equanimity this disappointment in the delay of the princess' arrival³. This delay resulted in a disruption of the contract; and the death of the young Frederic, a short time subsequently, prevented its renewal.

The next suitor for the hand of the princess was Peter,

¹ Wardrobe Roll, 14—15 Edw. III., No. 1732, Queen's Rem.

² Household Roll, *ut sup.*

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1160.

afterwards surnamed the Cruel, son of Alphonso, King of Castile. A marriage had previously been treated of between him and the princess-royal, Isabella; at a time when Alphonso, occupied with the siege of Algezira, had received "with joyful heart," the overtures of King Edward, who had even expressed a wish, if practicable, to visit Spain, and assist him in the siege, and thence make a pilgrimage to the celebrated shrine of St. James of Compostella. The siege had prevented the conclusion of the marriage treaty at that time, and as the ambition of the Castilian was merely to ally his son with some one of the daughters of the king of England¹, the elder princess was now withdrawn, to be given to the heir of the Earl of Flanders, and Joanna was substituted in her place².

The instructions given to the English ambassadors, who were to meet those of Spain, at Bayonne, in the autumn of the year 1344, are curious. They were first to inquire what lands the Spanish monarch was willing to assign as the dower of the princess. On the part of King Edward, they were authorized to offer 10,000*l.* as her marriage portion. If that sum were not considered sufficient, they were to raise it to 20,000 marks, or 13,332*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and then to advance to 15,000*l.*, if needful. But if objections should be taken even to that amount, they were permitted to offer as high as 20,000*l.*, double the original sum, rather than let the treaty slip through³.

The arrival of the English embassy was delayed by stress of weather⁴. The negotiations were commenced in January 1345, and they continued several months⁵; being rendered difficult to the English commissioners, by the intrigues of King Philip of Valois, who, anxious to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1207.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22, from Close Roll, 18 Edw. III.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26 and 27.

thwart the alliance between England and Castile, offered a portion larger than the highest advance of King Edward, to secure the match for one of his daughters. On the return of the ambassadors, however, in June 1345, they informed King Edward, much to his gratification, that Alphonso, in spite of this proffered bribe, maintained his desire for an union between his son and the English princess, and would give her the decided preference, provided only that her father was willing to pay along with her a portion equivalent to that promised by the French king. Alphonso further asked leave to send over a knight to inspect the young lady who was thus selected as future Queen of Castile.

The king, considering, we presume, that the princess, then in her thirteenth year, would bear the scrutiny of personal criticism, cheerfully consented to the latter part of the proposal¹. In reference to the portion-money, he declared that, having taken fuller deliberation, although the amount demanded with Joanna his daughter might seem heavy, yet he consented to pay 350,000 crowns, in hope of remission of part of the sum, or permission of delay in the payment; and on account of the special affection he bore to the King of Castile, he decided to conclude the arrangement; that is, in plainer terms, he authorized his ambassadors to contract the engagement, hoping to find some means of at least partially eluding it².

Meantime, two of the four original ambassadors, Peter, Bishop of Bayonne, and Gerard de Puy, were sent back to settle all preliminaries; and King Edward, in his desire to afford them every facility in the negotiation, gave them letters of recommendation, not only to the King and

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49, 58, 152. The sum promised by King Philip was 400,000 florins. French Roll, 19 Edw. III., pt. 1, mm. 10, 9; pt. 2, m. 11.

Queen and to the chancellor of Castile, but to Eleanora de Guzman, the king's concubine¹;—a proceeding redounding little to his credit; for by recognizing, it conferred honour upon the mistress of the very man whose son he was marrying to his own young and innocent daughter, and thus tended to encourage the immorality he should rather have striven to discountenance, lest its example should mar the future happiness of his child.

Edward endeavoured to secure the influence of the Queen of Castile, who was a Portuguese princess, by proposing a marriage between her sister and his son John of Ghent; whilst to the mistress, he strictly charged his ambassadors to offer in general terms any favour she might request, and to propose, that if she should choose to send over to England one of her sons by the king, the boy should be provided for, and honourably educated with the Prince of Wales.

The following August the king issued his letters-patent on behalf of his daughter, declaring that "Joanna, his dearest daughter, had, by the express licence and consent of himself and his consort, Queen Philippa, appointed his well-beloved clerk, Master Andrew of Oxford, professor of civil law, her procurator and especial messenger, and had chosen, constituted and ordained him, by her present words, to contract marriage, according to the forms of the church, with the noble Peter, eldest son of the illustrious King of Castile; and had empowered him to consent and affirm that she would take him for her lord and husband, and to perform every function which, in a marriage contract, devolves upon the procurator;" and that therefore the king and the queen pledged themselves to confirm whatever should be done by the said Andrew.

Although this decisive commission was given on the 30th of August, 1345, the negotiations were protracted,

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pp. 46, 59. *Gascon Roll*, 18 Edw. III., m. 2.

with tedious prolixity, through the ensuing year¹; during part of which King Edward was absent at the siege of Calais. As the main terms were agreed upon, and the king had, though with some difficulty, accumulated the requisite sums for the payment of the first instalment of the dower, he determined to send for the princess to join him at Calais, and thence to transmit her, under a suitable escort, to her future home. Accordingly, he wrote, in April 1347, to the sheriffs of London, enjoining them, without delay, to cause all the ships in the said port, furnished with victuals, to come to Sandwich, thence to proceed to him, to the parts of Calais, in the company of "Joanna, his very dear daughter, and others, his faithful nobles, about to come to him. And this, as they would preserve themselves unhurt, they were in no wise to omit."

But before the princess had actually set sail, an unexpected cause of detention arose. A trusty agent, sent by the Castilian queen², brought tidings to the English court, at Calais, that the King of Castile was not, at heart, sincere in wishing for the marriage; and that obstructions might probably arise even at so late a period. For though the queen was anxious to welcome the English princess as the bride of her only son, the royal mistress, Eleanora de Guzman, notwithstanding the disgraceful court paid to her by Edward III., was doing all in her power to prevent the union; fearing that the birth of a legitimate heir of the infant Peter might thwart her ambitious designs of securing the Castilian crown to her own son, Henry of Trastamarre; and the *ruse* she adopted was a professed anxiety to marry the prince elsewhere. Her influence over King Alphonso was known to be very great, and her opposition was the more to be apprehended.

This statement disconcerted King Edward, and he hesi-

¹ Fœdera, vol. iii., pp. 73-75.

² Ibid., p. 154.

tated what plan to adopt. Delay, at least, seemed advisable; and it was resolved that the Princess Joanna should not take her departure from England until the return of the royal family thither; a respite which would afford time for equipping her as became a future queen. The king was detained abroad until autumn, too late for the voyage of the princess to be undertaken that season, and it was again put off till the early spring.

The whole winter was busily occupied with the necessary preparations. Forty ships were ordered to be in readiness at Plymouth¹; and great pains were taken that, in spite of the difficulties that occurred in collecting provisions for them, nothing should be left wanting². When all was in a sufficient state of forwardness, King Edward wrote to Alphonso as follows³:—

“Most Serene Prince,—What lately we by our letters have written to your royal excellence, to wit, that we will send immediately our very dear daughter, about to be united in matrimony to your noble and eldest son, Peter, the Lord permitting, to you and to your said son, behold now we fulfil; for with full joy we destine the said our and your daughter to Gascony, thence to go to your Excellence. In the company of our daughter are to come Robert Bouchier, Baron, Andrew of Oxford, professor of civil law, and Gerard de Puy, canon of the church of Bordeaux, our procurators. Whom we beg you to hear in those things which, in our name, they shall propose, &c. Given in our palace of Westminster, January 1st.”

Similar letters were sent to the queen, the mistress, and Peter, the elect bridegroom; in the last-named epistle the king speaks of “Joanna, his dearest daughter,” as “distinguished, notwithstanding her youth, by gravity

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 146.

² *Gascon Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., mm. 28, 1, and 22 mm. 41, 23.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 147.

of manners, and by the comeliness of fitting grace," and as "the favourite of her mother¹."

The princess' nuptial preparations were conducted on a scale of almost unparalleled magnificence. Full particulars, in very minute detail, are given in a roll still in beautiful preservation, in the Queen's Remembrancer office², the half of which it would be tedious to enumerate. A few extracts must suffice. The priestly vestments for her chaplains were of cloth of gold, of cœrulean tissue, singularly enough embroidered with serpents and dragons; the altar-cloths for the chapel were some of fringed silk, and some of cloth of gold; the plate, including chalice, paten, censer, alms-dish, bowls, chandeliers, a vase for the holy water, little bells, &c., was all silver-gilt. In order that the princess might not be subject to the intrusion of impertinent gazers, during her hours of devotion, she had a closet, separated by curtains of rich Tripoli silk, and luxuriously fitted up with carpets, cushions, &c., set apart for herself. She took with her a bed of Tripoli silk, wrought with dragons in combat, the deep border of which was embroidered with a vine pattern, the whole powdered with bezants of gold, and amply provided with necessary bed furniture; tapestries for two receiving rooms, of which one was embroidered with popinjays in worsted, the other with roses and other flowers. Two of her robes³ were wrought with figures of wild men and wild beasts.

It will be remembered that Joanna early manifested a fondness for embroidery; and probably many of these elaborate works had been constructed under her superintendence. If so, she certainly displayed rather a combative taste in selecting such imagery as fighting

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 144. "Ætate juvenculam, morum gravitate et decoris debili venustate conspicuam, electam genetricis suæ."

² Wardrobe Accounts, No. 369. Printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi.

³ Called "ghita." See Halliwell's *Archaic Dict.*, *sub voce* "gite."

dragons, wild men and wild beasts, to decorate her own person and those of her chaplains. Amongst the articles of bed-room furniture, are named a looking-glass and two folding-chairs, with washing-bowls, a bath, a copper warming-pan, cords and rings for the tapestry, and coffers innumerable. Every requisite for an entire establishment was furnished with the same luxurious completeness. Her set of plate was large and costly, but principally silver, excepting "two spoons for the mouth of the lady," which were gilt. Her kitchen was not neglected, and she had an ample supply of various sorts of spices, to prepare her condiments during the journey. The provision not only of saddles for herself, of scarlet and purple velvet, embroidered and powdered with small pearls, but of double cloaks, hoods, and mantles for riding, and of saddles also for her four chamber-women, leads to the supposition that part at least of her journey to the sea-coast would be performed on horseback.

The attire prepared for her nuptials was a magnificent robe of cloth of gold of tissue, with mantle and sur-tunic to correspond; but which, when she appeared at the evening banquet, was to be exchanged for one of Spanish cloth of gold, made open in front, probably in compliance with Castilian fashion. The remainder of her wardrobe, her robes of scarlet, azure and purple velvet, her embroidered tassals, her pieces of silk and ribband, 12,000 pins, &c., &c., we pass over without comment; but it is worthy of record that she made provision for the gratification of others, as well as for her own, by large purchases of robes of different qualities, ermine furs, zones, &c., which she intended to distribute amongst "the barons, squires, clerks, ladies, valets, officers, soldiers and pages," who should surround her on her bridal morning. How little did she imagine while contemplating her luxurious array, that it was all vainly lavished on one who was soon to be the bride of death!

It was arranged that Joanna should be sent, properly attended, to Bordeaux, and thence travel to Bayonne, where the infant Peter, who was then in his fourteenth year, was to meet her for the solemnization of the nuptials. The only remaining difficulty was the dowry. The sums previously provided by King Edward, he had expended upon the war; and the royal exchequer was now at so low an ebb, that Edward had no ready cash to meet even the first instalment. Notwithstanding this impediment, he determined to delay no longer the transmission of his daughter to Castile, but to trust to his own good fortune and the indulgence of the Castilian king.

Early in January, the young princess set out on her journey from the land of her birth, which she was destined never to behold again. Her royal parents accompanied her from Westminster, as far as Mortlake, in Surrey. There the last sorrowful adieus were said; and on Wednesday the 9th of January, the Princess was consigned to the care of John, Bishop of Carlisle, and Sir Robert Bouchier, one of the most active negotiators of the marriage, who were to escort her into Gascony. Attended by a long train of knights, and ladies, serjeants-at-arms, valets, pages¹, &c., she proceeded onward, at the head of her numerous establishment, and on the Thursday she reached Basingstoke; Friday, Mitcheldever, and Saturday, Winchester. There she reposed during the Sunday. On Monday she proceeded to Stockbridge, and on Tuesday, to Salisbury, where she remained two days to rest. Thence she journeyed by Domesham, Cranborne, Blandford, Milton Abbas, Cerne Abbas, and Honiton, to Exeter. She arrived there on Tuesday, January 29th, and was welcomed by the Bishop of Exeter, whose guest she remained for a single day. Thence she went on to Chudleigh, where she tarried a day or two, and spent Sunday,

¹ Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Mich.

February 3rd, at Buckfastleigh, taking up her quarters in the Cistercian Abbey¹. Herself and her suite the monks received and entertained with courteous hospitality, but they had no accommodation for her long train of horses, which were obliged to be lodged elsewhere. The following day, Joanna advanced as far as Norbury, and on Tuesday, February 5th, he arrived at Plympton on the sea-coast, a short distance from the port of Plymouth, which was her next remove, and whence she was to set sail². On her arrival at this last stage of her inland journey, the men and horses who had hitherto attended her, were sent back to London³. Her expenses during this period, divided into the usual items of dispensary, butlery, wardrobe, kitchen, saltery, hall and chamber, stable, wages, &c., &c., averaged from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* per day.

In the meantime, King Edward, designing to put an effectual bar to the ambitious projects of Eleanora de Guzman, issued a formal declaration vindicating the claims of Joanna's children, should she have any, to the crown of Castile, after the death of King Alphonso and his son Peter⁴. But still, feeling some uneasiness on the subject, he assembled a council to deliberate upon it. By their advice, he sent off a secret despatch to the ambassadors, who had charge of the princess, with the following instructions:—that if, on arriving at Bordeaux, they should obtain certain intelligence that the infant of Spain was contracted in marriage elsewhere, the Lady Joanna and her train should return to England, without

¹ Most of the ruins of this abbey were taken down in 1806, but one tower still remains. It was founded in 1137. *Lyson's Britannia, Devonshire*, p. 78.

² These particulars are chiefly given from the "counterpart roll of John de Bermingham, lately comptroller of Thomas de Boddeley, late household treasurer of the Lady Joanna, the king's daughter," which forms roll No. 612 amongst the Wardrobe Accounts, Queen's Remembrancer Office.

³ Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Easter.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 150.

delay; leaving only one of the ambassadors to visit the King of Castile, and prove to him that the marriage was not broken off by the fault of the English monarch, who had fully performed his part. But if, on the contrary, the ambassadors should find that the infant was not contracted to any other lady, they were instructed to leave the princess at Bordeaux, and seek a private conference with the Queen of Castile, and to be guided, in a great measure, by her counsels. They were then to request an interview with the king, and formally to notify to him the arrival of the princess at Bordeaux, apologizing for the long delay in her transmission. If King Alphonso should positively decline to receive her, on the ground that the promised dowry was not forthcoming, they were to return to Bordeaux, and communicate with King Edward. But should he consent to receive her, on condition that the whole dowry, or at least the first instalment, were handed over, then their orders were to declare that the English nobles could by no means consent to pay any part of the dower, or even to allow the princess to proceed to Spain, without full and sufficient guarantee that the crown of Castile should, after the death of Alphonso, descend to Peter and his children by Joanna, and that the latter should not be set aside by any younger son of the king. On this point, they were positively to insist, notwithstanding any remonstrances that such a proceeding was unusual. In case this demand were acceded to, they were then to have recourse to the queen, in order to procure, through her influence, as long a delay as possible in the payments of the dower, and by no means to fix a day for the payments, without previously consulting King Edward¹.

The business affairs were now completed. But the guardians of the princess, who had the king's warrant to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 153.

appropriate as many vessels as they thought fit, for her conveyance and for their own return, found great difficulty in accomplishing their object; so much so, that on the 2nd of March, the king issued still more explicit orders to all "bailiffs, mariners," &c., urging them to aid his commissioners in securing ships for the passage of his daughter, the Lady Joanna, and others, to Gascony; this being an affair, the prompt execution of which lay very near his heart¹.

At length, the vessels were gathered together, well manned with archers; the safe-conducts were drawn up in due form², and everything was in readiness. They were now detained by the unpropitious state of the wind and weather; and more than five weeks elapsed, from the time of their arrival at Plymouth, before they were able to put out to sea; long enough, we may presume, to weary the princess, who was thus immured in a sea-port town, with little society except that of the commissioners and her own attendants. Joanna sent a messenger to her father, to explain her situation, by whose hands the king sent her affectionate letters³; and, by way of affording her a little diversion, he sent also one Garcia de Gyvell, "an illustrious minstrel of King Alphonso," who was returning to Spain, to remain with the princess, until her departure, and then to sail with her⁴. Probably the homeward-bound minstrel and his lady would gladly hail the first gale of northern wind which enabled them to sail on the 21st of March⁵.

The voyage lasted seven days. On the 28th of March, Joanna landed on the coast of Guienne, and proceeded by land to Bordeaux, where she arrived on the

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 154-156.

³ *Issue Roll*, ut sup.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157. Another person who sailed in her company was the Spanish knight, John Martyn, the bearer of the friendly message to Calais, who received splendid presents of robes and plate from the king. *Issue Roll*, 22 *Edw. III.*, *Easter*.

⁵ *Roll of the comptroller of the Lady Joanna*, ut sup.

31st. In this fine old city, illustrious, even at that date, for its antiquity, the princess fixed her residence for some time, as previously arranged, whilst the ambassadors went forward to Castile.

The broad river running round the walls of the castle of Bordeaux, the hills beyond, clothed with woods and vineyards, the quaint costumes of the inhabitants, the constant bustle of commerce on the quays of the then commercial capital of southern France, with its sunny skies and genial climate,—all presented the charms of novelty to the princess, and combined to render her life a constant scene of pleasurable excitement, the more glowing in the present, from the anticipations of the brilliant future in prospect.

Meanwhile the ambassadors sped well on their errand. No obstacle was presented to the completion of the nuptials, and they returned to Bordeaux to accompany the princess, in due time, to Bayonne, where the marriage was to be solemnized, on All Saints' day, November 1st¹. Several months having yet to elapse before that time, they tarried at Bordeaux, until an unexpected calamity hurried them away.

The fertile province of Guienne was visited by the fearful plague, which, under the name of the "black death," scourged the whole of Europe, from 1347 to 1350. Sweeping from China across the wilds of Tartary, advancing, with deadly strides, through Egypt, the Levant, Greece, Italy, and southern Europe, it spread through Germany and France to England, where, according to some historians, nine-tenths of the population were carried off². The general symptoms of this appalling malady, as it appeared in western Europe, were ardent fever, attended

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 172.

² *Walsingham*, p. 159. *Barnes' Edw. III.*, p. 432. In London alone, 100,000 persons, and in Norwich 51,100, are said to have fallen victims to it.

with profuse expectorations of blood, and the appearance on the skin of black spots or boils, producing that putrid decomposition which gave to the malady its terribly significant name. In some less unfortunate cases, stupefaction ensued, but generally the throat and tongue became black, no beverage could assuage the burning thirst, and the sufferings of the wretched victims continued unalleviated, until terminated by death, which generally took place on the third day after the seizure. The disease sometimes terminated life much more rapidly; and many, in their despair, accelerated their destruction, with their own hands¹.

¹ It is well known that Boccaccio's Decamerone was written during the prevalence of this scourge. The following passages contain a vivid picture of the desolation wrought by it in Florence.

"When the evil had become universal, the hearts of all the inhabitants were closed to feelings of humanity. They fled from the sick and all that belonged to them, hoping by these means to save themselves. Others shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, their children, and households, living on the most costly food, but carefully avoiding all excess. None were allowed access to them; no intelligence of death or sickness was permitted to reach their ears; and they spent their time in singing, and music, and other pastimes. Others, on the contrary, considered eating and drinking to excess, amusements of all descriptions, the indulgence of every gratification, and an indifference to what was passing around them, as the best medicine, and acted accordingly. They wandered day and night from one tavern to another, and feasted without moderation or bounds. In this way they endeavoured to avoid all contact with the sick, and abandoned their houses and property to chance, like men whose death knell had already tolled.

"Amid this general lamentation and woe, the influence and authority of every law, human and divine, vanished. Most of those who were in office had been carried off by the plague, or lay sick, or had lost so many members of their families that they were unable to attend to their duties, so that thenceforth every one acted as he thought proper. Others, in their mode of living, chose a middle course. They ate and drank what they pleased, and walked abroad, carrying oderiferous flowers, herbs, or spices, which they smelt of from time to time, in order to invigorate the brain, and to avert the baneful influence of the air, infected by the sick and by the innumerable corpses of those who had died of the plague. Others carried their precautions still further, and thought the surest way to escape death was by flight. They therefore left the city, women as well as men abandoning their dwellings and their relations, and retiring into the country. But of these also

When the pestilence invaded Bordeaux, where it spread with frightful rapidity, the guardians of the

many were carried off, most of them alone, and deserted by all the world, themselves having previously set the example. Thus it was, that one citizen fled from another—a neighbour from his neighbours—a relation from his relations; and, in the end, so completely had terror extinguished every kindlier feeling, that the brother forsook the brother,—the sister the sister, the wife her husband; and, at last, even the parent his own offspring, and abandoned them, unvisited and unsoothed, to their fate. Those, therefore, that stood in need of assistance, fell a prey to greedy attendants; who, for an exorbitant recompense, merely handed the sick their food and medicine, and remained with them in their last moments, and then, not unfrequently became themselves victims to their avarice, and lived not to enjoy their extorted gain. Propriety and decorum were extinguished among the helpless sick. Females of rank seemed to forget their natural bashfulness, and committed the care of their persons indiscriminately to men and women of the lowest order. No longer were relatives or friends found in the house of mourning, to share the grief of the survivors,—no longer was the corpse accompanied to the grave by neighbours and a numerous train of priests, carrying wax tapers and singing psalms, nor was it borne along by other citizens of equal rank. Many breathed their last without a friend to soothe their dying pillow, and few indeed were they who departed amid the lamentations and tears of their friends and kindred. Instead of sorrow and mourning, appeared indifference, frivolity, and mirth, this being considered, especially by the females, as conducive to health. Seldom was the body followed by even ten or twelve attendants; and instead of the usual bearers and sextons, mercenaries of the lowest of the populace undertook the office for the sake of gain, and accompanied by only a few priests, and often without a single taper, it was borne to the very nearest church, and lowered into the first grave that was not already too full to receive it. Among the middling classes, and especially among the poor, the misery was still greater. Poverty or negligence induced most of these to remain in their dwellings or in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus they fell by thousands; and many ended their lives in the streets, by day and by night. The stench of putrifying corpses was often the first indication to their neighbours that more deaths had occurred. The survivors, to preserve themselves from infection, generally had the bodies taken out of the houses and laid before the doors, where the early morn found them in heaps, exposed to the affrighted gaze of the passing stranger. It was no longer possible to have a bier for every corpse,—three or four were generally laid together—husband and wife, father and mother, with two or three children, were frequently borne to the grave on the same bier; and it often happened that two priests would accompany a coffin, bearing the cross before it, and be joined on the way by several other funerals, so that, instead of one, there were five or six bodies for interment.” *Hecker’s Epidemics of the Middle Ages, published by the Sydenham Society, pp. 47-49.*

princess, trembling for her safety, removed her, on the 25th of July, to a small country village called Loremo, in order to avoid the contagion. There she remained, for several weeks, in health; but the pestilential atmosphere at length reached her retreat, and the young princess was its first victim¹. After a short but violent attack, she expired, on the 2nd of September, 1348, before she had completed her fifteenth year².

The mournful tidings were speedily conveyed to England. The bereaved parents deeply felt the stroke that had deprived them of one of the fairest and most promising of their children, when far removed from home, and under circumstances so distressing.

The letters addressed by King Edward, on the occasion, to the bereaved bridegroom and his parents, are curious, as blending the usual formality of state correspondence, with touching bursts of paternal love and sorrow. That to the Infant Peter, is as follows:

“Most noble Infant, We believe it is not unknown to your serenity, how that multifarious negotiations between the magnificent prince, the King of Castile, your father, and our procurators and messengers, have been held, at different times, about the contraction of a marriage between you and Joanna, our dearest daughter; and at last, desiring to keep faith in reference to these treaties, we thought fit to transmit our aforesaid daughter to Bordeaux, thence to be led to other parts of Spain, at the time appointed by your father.

“And subsequently, according to the last agreements

¹ Almost at the same time the plague carried off Leonora of Portugal, second wife of Pedro III., King of Arragon. *Mascaro, Condes de Barcelona, vol. ii., p. 275.* And soon afterwards King Alphonso himself fell a victim to the same fearful disease. *Roderic, Sanct. Schottus Hisp. Illust., vol. i., p. 205.*

² Comptroller's Account, *ut supra*. Her expenses from her landing in Guienne averaged from 3*l.* to 5*l.* per day; the whole of her travelling expenses amounted to 138*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Easter.*

between our procurators and those of your father, lately made and accorded, we had decreed to send our daughter, before the approaching feast of All Saints, to Bayonne, with an honourable company, as was fitting; there to be received by your officers, and united, first of all, to you, in the marriage bond. And we had, moreover, not without much difficulty, and great loss of our exchequer, prepared to fulfil each and every condition in reference to the dower which we were to pay with her. But, whilst we, with paternal affection, thought to have had an adopted son to our mutual comfort, behold!—what with sobbing sighs, and a heavy heart, we sorrowfully relate,—death, terrible to all the kings of the earth, who takes indifferently the poor and the powerful, the youth and the alluring virgin, with the aged man, without respect to person or power, has now by a subversion of the wonted laws of mortality, removed from your hoped for embraces, and ours, our aforesaid daughter; in whom all the gifts of nature met; whom, also, as due to the elegance of her manners, we sincerely loved beyond our other children. Thus the bond of this adoption is broken by a dire mode of emancipation, and a grievous sort of divorce. Whereat none can wonder that we are pierced by the stings of the most intense sorrow.

“But although our bowels of pity lead us to such groans and complainings, yet we give devout thanks to God, who gave her to us, and has taken her away, that he has deigned to snatch her, pure and immaculate, in the years of her innocence, from the miseries of this deceitful world, and to call her to heaven; where, united to her celestial spouse, for ever to reign in the choir of virgins, her constant intercession may avail for us.”

The remainder of the letter expresses wishes for continued concord and amity between the two kingdoms of England and Castile¹.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 172. The letters to the King and Queen of

The corpse of the princess, says Sandford, was conveyed in state to the very church in Bayonne which was to have witnessed her bridal, and was there met by her affianced lord and his attendants. In their presence, before the altar where she should have breathed her nuptial vows, the dirge was chanted for the early dead, and the young virgin solemnly deposited in her last resting place¹. But as Sandford quotes no authority, and as his statement is not corroborated by the contemporary English or Spanish chroniclers, we incline to fear that the worthy genealogist drew a little upon his imagination for facts, which wear rather the aspect of poetry than reality. It seems beyond the bounds of probability, that a victim to so infectious a disease should be conveyed for interment such a distance, as from the neighbourhood of Bordeaux to Bayonne; and the fact that it was the English king who conveyed to the sovereign of Castile tidings of the death of the princess, seems to argue that she both died and was interred in the dominions of the former monarch. It is more likely therefore that she found a hasty and private burial at Loremo, or at Bordeaux.

After attending the last mournful rites, the Bishop of Carlisle returned home, to relate anew his tale of woe to the sorrowing parents, who rewarded him for his fidelity, and handsomely pensioned off the servants who had been in personal attendance on their beloved child².

The statue of Joanna of the Tower, which occupies a niche on the south side of her father's tomb in Westminster Abbey, is less defaced than most of the adjacent sculptures. The features of the face are regular and symmetrical; the hair is brought forward on each side, in heavy twisted plaits that partially conceal the cheeks, and con-

Castile are similar in character, though slightly varying in expression. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172.

¹ Sandford, p. 197.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 176. Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Mich.

finer by a jewelled band across the forehead, and a small, tight-fitting caul of network behind. The dress is a close tunic, with large buttons down to the waist, the folds of the skirt sweeping the ground; and above this, is a mantle, hanging over the arms, but so as to display the fore-arm, which is covered with tight embroidered mittens; the hands are concealed in the skirts of the robe. Over the statue are the arms borne by the princess after her betrothal, those of Castile and Leon quarterly, impaling France and England.

To the Princess Joanna, the angel of death proved a harbinger of mercy; for by her early removal she escaped the far more fearful doom of lingering years of sorrow, as the wife of a man who became the slave of an imperious mistress, who imprisoned and murdered one wife, and abandoned another, who strangled his bastard brothers, and perpetrated so many enormities, that his name has been handed down to posterity, disgracefully branded as Peter the Cruel¹.

¹ Modern historians endeavour to palliate the conduct of Peter the Cruel, by ascribing much of the bitter moroseness of his disposition to insults heaped upon his childhood and youth, when he and his mother, Queen Mary of Portugal, were abandoned to contempt and neglect, whilst his father's mistress, Eleanora de Guzman, and her children were basking in the full sunshine of royal favour. See La Roncey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. viii. Salaza, *Monarquia de España*, vol. i., pp. 191-3.

BLANCHE,

THIRD DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III.

CHAPTER VII.

Birth of the princess—Her death—Funeral—Monument to her memory.

THE history of the Princess Blanche may be briefly comprised in the few words which form a summary chronicle of our frail mortality: "She was born and she died."

Her eyes had scarcely opened to the light, in the Tower of London, in the year 1342, when they were again closed in death¹; and all that remains on record concerning her is the detail of her funeral. Her body was conveyed in a chariot of the queen, her mother, attended by twelve of the queen's valets, wearing mourning tunics and hoods, to the chapel of St. Peter, in Westminster Abbey, where she shared the tomb of her infant

¹ The year 1340 has been generally given as the date of the birth and death of this royal infant. *Sandford*, p. 174. *Robert of Reading*, *Harl. MS.*, 685, f. 236 b. *Hearne*, *Liber Niger Scacc.*, p. 430, &c. But, independently of the substantial objection that Prince Lionel was certainly born in November 1338, and Prince John in June 1340, the wardrobe accounts which detail, year by year, the provision of robes for the king's children, mention Blanche only once, and that once in connexion with her mother's "uprising," and her own interment in 1342. *Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe*, 18 *Edw. II.* to 24 *Edw. III.*, sub anno 16 *Edw. III.* The same roll records the embroidery of a piece of tapestry for the queen upon her "uprising from the birth of the Lady Blanche," fifteen ells square, wrought with white roses and four leopards in the midst, with the arms of the king and queen.

brother, William of Windsor¹. The whole family of her brothers and sisters, Edward, Lionel, John of Gaunt, Edmund of Langley, and the Princesses Isabella and Joanna, were present at her funeral, attired in deep mourning. The total expenses of this simple interment amounted only to 39*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* But, long afterwards, their lost child was remembered by her parents in offerings of cloths of gold tissue upon her tomb, and others of inferior material bestowed elsewhere, and also in alms to the friars preachers, and to other monks, for prayers to be offered up for the innocent spirit that had thus early escaped to the realms of peace².

Her effigy, in brass, was subsequently placed with those of the whole of her family around the stately tomb of their father³ in St. Edmund's chapel; but for the infant princess and her brother William, a separate monument was erected in the same chapel, though without inscription. It is decorated with tiny effigies of pure alabaster. That of the Lady Blanche is curiously illustrative of the fact, already frequently alluded to, that the infantile costume in the thirteenth and fourteenth century differed very little from that worn in more mature life, and was peculiarly unsuited to the helplessness and simplicity of babyhood. The statue of the princess does not exceed eighteen inches in height; it represents her attired in a netted head dress, each knot adorned with a group of four pearls, a "*cote hardie*," with a jewelled stomacher and girdle; her mantle open in front and fastened with a cordon, and three jewelled clasps, one on each shoulder, and one on the breast. It is now considerably dilapidated; one

¹ Issue Roll, 50 Edw. III., Easter. Stowe says their bones were placed in the Chapter-House, but the authority of the Issue Roll is decisive to the contrary.

² Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe, *ut sup.*

³ Account of Kings, Queens, and Nobles buried at Westminster. Lond. 1600.

arm is broken off, and the features are too much worn to leave any resemblance to the short-lived infant whom it was designed to immortalize¹.

¹ Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, vol. i., p. 60. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. i., pt. 2, p. 96. An engraving of the monument is also given in the *Pictorial History of England*, vol. i., p. 870.

MARY,

FOURTH DAUGHTER OF EDWARD III.

CHAPTER VIII.

Birth at Waltham—Childhood—Future destiny—War of the Breton succession—The Countess de Montfort—Assisted by Edward III.—Proposed Alliance—Brings her son to England—Death of the elder De Montfort—John V. plighted to the Princess Mary—Contests in Bretagne—The Countess in England—The royal nursery—Charles of Blois—Threatened disruption of Mary's marriage—Avoided by Edward III.—Duke John returns to Bretagne—An amour there—Returns to England—Treaty of Bretigny—John fails to obtain the restitution of the duchy—Mary's visit to Blanche of Lancaster—Marriage of John and Mary—Her death—Burial—Monumental effigy—John's promise to King Edward—After career—Death—character.

THIS princess was born at Waltham¹, near Winchester, on the 10th of October, 1344². Of her infancy and early childhood few particulars remain, and those few so similar to the details already given of her eldest sister, as not to deserve more distinct specification. Entries of payments to her nurse and servants and of dresses purchased for her, occur regularly on the wardrobe rolls³. She was constantly in the society of her brothers and sisters, at the Tower, Langley, Eltham, Woodstock, or such other of the royal residences as they temporarily occupied.

As the future destiny of the Princess Mary owes its

¹ She is styled Mary of Waltham in the Issue Roll 41 Edw. III., Mich.

² *Annales Luculenti*, Cotton. MS., Nero D. ii., f. 206 b. Hearne's *Otterbourne*, p. 130. Adam of Murimuth, p. 152. Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 431.

³ Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe, ut sup.

colouring to events which took place before her birth, it will be necessary to go back a few years, and take a cursory glance at the transactions alluded to, the theatre of which was the province of Bretagne.

In 1341, on the death of John III., Duke of Bretagne, without heirs, two claimants for the dukedom presented themselves. The preceding Duke of Bretagne, Arthur III., left four sons: John III., who succeeded him; Guy, Earl of Penthievre, who died in 1335, leaving issue an only daughter, Jeanne de Penthievre, married to Charles of Blois; Peter, who died childless; and John de Montfort. This last-named prince was the only one who survived Duke John III. He asserted his right to the dukedom as being a nearer relation than the daughter of his elder brother, Guy; and, being in Bretagne on the death of John III., he was recognized by the city of Nantes, and, partly by force, partly by manœuvre, he seized the duke's treasures and took possession of the duchy¹.

Though generally acknowledged by the people, John de Montfort knew well that he had still much to dread from the opposition of his rival, Charles de Blois. This young nobleman was the youngest son of Guy, Earl of Blois, by the sister of Philip, King of France; and Jeanne de Penthievre had been given to him in marriage by the late duke, her uncle,—who declared her his heiress,—in the certainty that her husband's influence, seconded by that of the French court, could not fail to secure for her the succession to the duchy.

In order to provide a defence for himself against the anticipated attack, no sooner had De Montfort settled the affairs of the duchy than he went over secretly to England,—the country where a foe of Philip of France was sure to receive a welcome. He there pledged him-

¹ Morice, vol. i., p. 248. Lobineau, vol. i., pp. 311-313. Froissart, vol. i., pp. 252-264.

self to recognize Edward III. as King of France; and, in return, the king promised, as his liege lord, to aid, defend, and preserve him, to the uttermost of his power¹.

Meanwhile, Charles of Blois made his appeal to King Philip, who thereupon summoned both candidates to submit their claims to the adjustment of the chamber of peers, appointed to assemble in Paris. To this De Montfort assented², and went to Paris, attended by a gallant train. But he soon found that he had little chance of success against the nephew of his sovereign; and alarmed by a royal command not to quit Paris without permission, he hastily withdrew. The decision was given against him³; King Philip pledged himself to support Charles of Blois, and sent an army into Bretagne, headed by his son, the Duke of Normandy⁴.

¹ Froissart, vol. i., p. 265. Annal. Lucul., ut sup., f. 205 b. Morice, vol. i., p. 248. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 314. Leland's Collect., vol. i., p. 559.

² Lobineau, vol. i., p. 314. See his Letters to the French King, Lobineau; Preuves, vol. ii., p. 487.

³ Morice, vol. i., pp. 249, 251. The homage of Charles of Blois was performed September 7, 1341. The original documentary ratification of it is in the Archives du Royaume, Paris.

⁴ The conduct of both Philip and Edward, in reference to the succession of Bretagne, proves how insincere were the political principles on which they acted. Philip, who possessed the French crown by virtue of the Salic law, which excluded the inheritance of females, defended the cause of his nephew, whose claim was in right of his wife, the heiress of Bretagne; whilst Edward, who vindicated in his own person the claim of succession to the crown of France, through a female, combated that right in another;—an inconsistency the more striking, because precedents did exist of female succession in Bretagne, but not in France. It is a curious fact, as taken in connexion with the history of the Breton war, that in the year 1334, Joanna, Countess of Penthievre, was actually contracted, by consent of Edward III., to his brother, John, Earl of Cornwall. *Morice; Preuves, vol. i., col. 1375.* Had this marriage been concluded, the parts taken by England and France in the contest would probably have been reversed. The pretensions of John de Montfort are fully set forth in a document printed in *Morice's Preuves, vol. i., cols. 1417-21.* He cites divers amusing arguments on the incapacity of women to succeed to inheritances, one of which is that the blessed Virgin herself was not thought worthy to succeed her son in any government, temporal or spiritual! The pre-

In October 1341, the very first campaign, the Earl of Montfort fell into the hands of the enemy, and was sent prisoner to Paris¹, and Charles of Blois rejoiced in the hope that his difficulties were at an end. A few weeks' experience showed him his mistake. The heroic wife of the captive earl, Joanna, sister of Louis, Earl of Flanders, "who possessed," says Froissart, "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," was not prepared thus tamely to relinquish the contest². "She was a woman," says the great Breton historian, Morice,³ "above her sex, and who yielded to no one in courage or military virtues. There were few men who sat a horse better than this princess. In combat she handled the sword with as much address and effect as the most vigorous and experienced warriors. No adversity could crush her. Her constancy in the most desperate circumstances always reassured those who were attached to her. Her mind was so solid and discriminating, that the most skilful diplomatists could never take her by surprise. She could discern between reality and appearance; and always rather gained than lost. It was by such qualities that she maintained the nobility, soldiers, and citizens of several towns of Bretagne in her interests."

This lady was in the city of Rennes, when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and notwithstanding her great grief, she did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers. Presenting to them her young son, called John, after his father, she said to them, "Oh, gentlemen, be not cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord. He was but one man.

tensions of Charles de Blois are detailed in the *Arrest de Couflans*. *Ibid.*, col. 1421. Lobineau; *Preuves*, vol. ii., pp. 480-6.

¹ Lobineau, vol. i., p. 319.

² An eloquent account of this celebrated Countess de Montfort may be found in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Bruxelles*, vol. i., pp. 237-248.

³ Vol. i., p. 253. See also Lobineau, vol. i., p. 320.

Look at my little child: if it please God, he shall be his restorer and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and I will seek out such a leader as shall give you all proper confidence."

The countess with her infant boy visited all the towns and fortresses that remained true to her husband, strengthening and storing the garrisons, and rousing, by every means in her power, the military enthusiasm of the troops¹.

Thus passed the winter. The return of spring brought with it a formidable French army, well appointed, which laid vigorous siege to the city of Rennes. In this emergency, the Countess de Montfort sent off one of her faithful knights, Sir Amauri de Clisson, to England, to entreat the assistance of King Edward, on the condition that her young son should marry one of the daughters of the king². Edward received the application with pleasure, and sent over William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and Sir Walter Mauny, with a body of men-at-arms and 2000 or 3000 of the best archers of England, to aid his fair ally. Some delay necessarily took place before the troops were ready to set sail; and after they had commenced their voyage, contrary winds detained them more than forty days, during which time the Countess de Montfort needed all her heroic firmness to defend herself. Rennes had surrendered to the French and they advanced to Hennebon, the residence of the countess, hoping to terminate the war at once, by obtaining possession of her person and that of her son. On the news of their approach, the countess rang the alarm-bells and ordered the whole town to arm for the defence; and when the siege was actually commenced, she rode up and down the

¹ Froissart, vol. i., p. 278. Choisy, Hist. de Philippe de Valois, p. 113. Barnes' Edw. III., p. 246.

² Morice, vol. i., p. 254. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 321.

place, mounted on a war steed and clothed in armour, encouraging the inhabitants to an honourable defence, and even stimulating the ladies and women to unpave the streets and hurl the stones down from the ramparts upon the foes beneath. In a sudden sally, at the head of 300 horsemen, she set fire to the tents of the invaders, which they had left unguarded during an assault upon the town; her return being intercepted, she was obliged to retire to the castle of Brest, with the loss of some of her men. For five days the people of Hennebon were full of uneasiness, hearing no tidings of her; but, at sunrise on the sixth morning, she re-appeared, at the head of a strong body of 600 men; the gates of the castle were thrown open, and she entered the town amidst pealing of trumpets and other tokens of rejoicing¹.

Weeks rolled on: the siege still continued, and the expected succours from England came not. The courage of the inhabitants began to flag. Friends and relatives, who had embraced opposite parties and were therefore combating each other, met and parleyed of surrender. The countess entreated the Breton lords not to fail her, assuring them that, before three days more had elapsed, the English would arrive, without fail; for the wind had at length veered round to a favourable quarter. But her eloquence was vain. They consented to give up the town, and the French troops were actually marching forward to take possession, when the despairing countess rushed once more to a lofty window of the castle which commanded a view of the sea, and whence she had often gazed, with anxious disappointment, at the unbroken expanse of waters, and beheld, in the distance, the stately masts of the English fleet, in full sail towards the town. In joyous haste, she proclaimed the tidings; the people flocked to the ramparts, and confirmed the report; all idea of sub-

¹ Froissart, vol. i., pp. 300-302.

mission was abandoned, and preparations were made for the reception of the deliverers¹. The countess ordered her halls and chambers to be hung with the richest tapestry, for the lords and barons of England; and herself met them on their landing, respectfully offering thanks to each knight and esquire, and gave them a magnificent entertainment.

The next day, Sir Walter Mauny headed a vigorous and successful sally, for the purpose of destroying a huge machine that battered the walls with stones by night and by day. The expedition was successful, and on the return of the party, "the Countess de Montfort," says Froissart, "came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed Sir Walter Mauny and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant lady²." The result of their gallant deeds was the raising of the siege of Hennebon.

Bravely fought the knights, whose hope of reward was a lady's kiss³, throughout the whole campaign. But their forces were not numerous; those of France, on the other hand, received frequent reinforcements, and, therefore, notwithstanding the daring exploits of Sir Walter Mauny, Sir Amauri de Clisson, and others, the countess was glad, as winter approached, to follow the advice of King Edward, and to conclude a truce, to last until the ensuing May. She then sent over the Bishop of Vannes to concert with King Edward the terms for the marriage of her son John and one of the princesses, his daughters; and also to see if anything could be accomplished by English mediation, for the delivery of her husband⁴.

¹ Froissart, vol. ii., pp. 1-7. Morice, vol. i., p. 256. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 322.

² Froissart, vol. i., pp. 308-9.

³ Froissart records another occasion, when on their return from a successful expedition the countess received them with kisses and embraces, vol. ii., p. 8.

⁴ Lobineau; preuves, vol. ii., p. 491.

Afterwards, the countess herself went over to England, to present her son to his future father-in-law¹. The king received them with much courtesy²; and, as it was not deemed expedient that the young heir of Bretagne, the sole hope of his party during his father's captivity, should be allowed to return to a province, the unsettled state of which endangered his freedom, he had apartments assigned to him in the royal nursery, to be nurtured in the companionship of the young sons and daughters of Edward III., whilst his heroic mother vindicated his rights in Bretagne³.

On the expiration of the truce, in May 1343, the Countess de Montfort again set sail, attended by a body of English troops under the command of Lord Robert d'Artois, who, in consequence of a quarrel with his brother-in-law, the King of France, had entered the service of King Edward. They fell in with a fleet sent to oppose them, and a sharp contest ensued, in which the countess combated bravely "with a trusty, sharp sword in her hand⁴." A terrible storm separated the fleets, and the English troops landed near Vannes, which city they besieged, headed by the countess in person, and at length took; but it was retaken by the French, the Lord Robert of Artois was fatally wounded, and the success of

¹ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 16.

² In a work entitled "Romance of the Countess of Montfort," evidently written by a person familiar with the scenes he describes, there is a long account of a maid of honour brought over by the countess, with whose charms the king was smitten, as was also the Duke of Gloucester. This curious romance, containing many details interesting, if their authenticity could be proved, of the Countess de Montfort, was reprinted in the "Recueil de Romans Historiques," 24mo., Lond. 1746. In the number of the same work for May 1778, occurs another romance on the same subject, dedicated to Louise de Querouaille, the celebrated Duchess of Portsmouth, in which this maid of honour is said to have been of her family, and called Mdlle. de Querouaille. Probably a fiction got up to gratify the vanity of the royal mistress.

³ Robes purpled with ermine were purchased for the "infant of Bretagne," in the year 1343. *Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe*, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., sub anno 17 Edw. III.

⁴ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 23.

the campaign seemed so uncertain that the following year, 1344, King Edward resolved to go over in person to Bretagne. The war was resumed with fresh vigour, but success was evenly balanced, and the country so ravaged and wasted by both armies, that each party was glad to conclude a truce for three years. After paying a short visit to the countess at Hennebon, Edward consigned her to the keeping of some of his gallant knights, and returned to England¹.

This same year, the Princess Mary was born, and was from her very infancy looked upon as the affianced wife of her nursery companion, John of Bretagne, the other princesses being not only older than the young de Montfort, who at Mary's birth was just four years of age, but already entangled in multifarious matrimonial engagements.

During this period, the elder De Montfort still lingered in captivity at the Louvre prison in Paris; for although his deliverance was among the stipulations of the late truce, it was one which King Philip thought proper to elude. But in the spring of 1345, the earl found means to escape, in the disguise of a pedlar, and quickly arrived in England². Here he renewed still more formally, the homage he had previously paid to Edward III. as King of France, for the duchy of Bretagne³, and solicited a

¹ Froissart, pp. 22-42. Morice, vol. i., p. 268. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 330, &c. The costs of this expedition amounted to 30,472*l.* 11*s.* ½*d.* in wages of the troops alone. *Ward. Book*, 17—19 *Edw. III.*, *A. v.*, 10, *Rolls House*, ff. 211-220.

² *Libvre du Bon Jehan, Duc de Bretagne*, in "Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France," p. 436. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* state that he was liberated on giving a pledge not to enter Bretagne.

³ Avesbury, p. 97. Leland's Collect., vol. i., p. 478. The declaration of homage was conveyed in the following terms:—"My lord, I recognize you as rightful King of France, and to you, as my liege lord and rightful King of France, I do my homage for the duchy of Bretagne, which I claim to hold from you, my lord, and become your liege man, for life and limb and earthly honour, living or dying, against all men." *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 39. The homage was paid on Friday, May 20th,

supply of troops for his re-establishment. The king was too much involved in foreign warfare to be able to render him more than a very inefficient assistance, a disappointment which De Montfort is said to have felt so keenly that, combined with the effects of his long Louvre captivity, it seriously affected his health¹. He hastened homewards to join the noble-spirited wife to whom he owed so much, and from whom he had been so long separated. Their reunion did not last long. The following September, De Montfort sickened and died², leaving King Edward, in conjunction with Amalric de Clisson, guardian of his young son³. This son succeeded him, under the title of John V., and thus the infant Mary, before she had completed her first year, became titular Duchess of Bretagne. But many a hard-fought battle had to be lost and won, many a bright lance shivered, and many a gallant knight laid low in the dust, before the claims were vindicated to the fair province which had suffered so fearfully from the horrors of protracted warfare⁴.

The Breton contest is rendered remarkable by the fact 1345, in presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Northampton, the chancellor, the treasurer, and other officers of state.

¹ Roman de la Comtesse de Montfort, pl. 86. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 337.

² The writer of his chronicle thus quaintly details his death:

“Fortune trop le guerreoyt
Et le tint fort à destroit ;
Si convint comme qu’il alast,
Que la mort *les dens lui serrast* !
Si mourrit, Dieu li fasse pardon.
Ce fut Jehan, le bon Breton.”

“Fortune warred too hard against him, and held him in sore straits ; so it happened, as he was going forth, that death clenched his teeth, and so he died. God pardon him ! This was John, the good Breton.”

³ Morice, vol. i., p. 272. Lobineau ; Preuves, vol. ii., p. 489. The duchess and De Clisson lent to King Edward 1000*l.* to secure the continuance of his favours, and they jointly recognized his title to the crown of France.

⁴ A contemporary writer tells us that “widows and orphans every where encumbered the roads,” and that the black robe had become a very common livery ; and expresses his surprise that the contending parties could not see that it was their sin which thus afflicted the duchy. *Libvre du Bon Jehan*, p. 439.

that on both sides, as we shall presently see, the leaders in the strife were women. The year 1347 put an end to the truce. The death of her husband availed no more than his imprisonment had done, to daunt the courage of the Countess de Montfort; she had the rights of her son to defend, and the war was re-opened with fresh energy by both parties. The first campaign placed a decisive advantage in the hands of the countess. Her son's rival, Charles de Blois, was made prisoner in a nocturnal attack upon his camp¹. The countess immediately transmitted these joyful tidings to England by a messenger, who was amply rewarded by King Edward²; but their rejoicings proved to be premature. The wife of Charles de Blois, Jeanne de Penthièvre, heiress of Bretagne, emboldened by the example of her rival, the Countess de Montfort, declared her resolution to uphold her title and continue the war³.

Although Bretagne was thus the pretext and the theatre of war, the real combatants were not the Bretons themselves, whose resources were too much exhausted to permit them to take an active part in the strife; it was France and England that contended for national pre-eminence on the plains of Bretagne; and when the war in Gascony, the siege of Calais, and other military enterprises in Normandy, and elsewhere, required the withdrawal of the forces of these rival nations, the Breton war fell into abeyance. The Countess de Montfort, therefore, thought that her energies would be better occupied in the training of her young son in England; leaving a trusty English knight, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, as guardian of her interests in Bretagne, she set sail for England, conducting thither her prisoner, Charles of

¹ De la Porte, *Recherches sur la Bretagne*, vol. i., p. 190.

² Issue Roll, 35 Edw. III., Mich., 2nd part.

³ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 213. Morice, vol. i., p. 177.

Blois, to remain under the custody of Edward III., in the Tower of London¹.

On her arrival, in the spring of 1348, the Princess Mary was for the first time presented to her; and the child was regarded by the countess with the intensity of interest which a mother naturally feels for one so closely connected with the present and future destinies of an only son. The countess was accompanied by her daughter Joanna, the "demoiselle de Bretagne," as she was styled, who was a frequent companion of the English Princesses, and was treated with almost paternal kindness by Edward III². Queen Philippa took upon herself the charge of this child, and her expenses were entirely discharged by the king³.

The residence of the Duchess of Bretagne, for by that title the Countess of Montfort was recognized in the court of Edward III., was the castle of Tickhill, in Yorkshire, belonging at one time to the estates of Richmond, which King Edward had formerly granted to her husband, in lieu of his earldom of Montfort, seized by the King of France⁴, though the grant had been repealed in favour of his own son, John of Gaunt⁵. The ruins of the fortress, at this day, bear ample testimony to its former strength and magnitude. The constable of the castle,

¹ L'Art de Vérifier, vol. ii., p. 904, fol. edit. Morice, vol. i., p. 278.

² Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Mich.

³ See Issue Rolls, 32, 33, 35, 40, 41, Edw. III. Wardrobe Accts., 749, 935, Queen's Rememb., and similar records *passim*. See also Avesbury, p. 98.

⁴ Morice, Hist., vol. i., p. 270.—Preuves, vol. i., col. 1424.

⁵ Charter Roll, 16 Edw. III. Dugdale, vol. i., p. 52. The account of the Richmond peerage in Dugdale is confused and contradictory throughout. In the present instance he confounds the two De Montforts, father and son, and so mistakes their marriages as to make John V. appear the son of his own wife. The formal cession of Richmond to John of Gaunt, by John V. of Bretagne, is printed in *Morice, Preuves* vol. i. col. 1540, but this was only a nominal confirmation of a real transfer effected some years previously. Cf. *Patent Roll*, 16 Edw. III., pt. 3., m. 10. *Patent Roll*, 31 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 3.

was charged to provide for the entertainment of the countess at the king's expense¹, though it must be admitted that the compensation afforded him, for disbursements on her account, viz., 5 marks per week, could only allow a very modest establishment².

The countess brought over into England a youth about the age of her own son, to be educated with him. This was the young De Clisson, afterwards the celebrated constable of France. His father, Sir Oliver de Clisson, a brave Breton knight, who had fought on the side of France, had been taken prisoner in the late contests, and afterwards released on an exchange of prisoners. He was suspected, though it would seem unjustly³, by King Philip, of favouring the English cause; and on this suspicion, without even the formality of a trial, was beheaded in Paris. His widow had instantly withdrawn to Bretagne, and placed her fatherless boy under the protection of the Countess de Montfort⁴.

In the spring of 1349, the countess took her son to pay a short visit to Bretagne; thinking it inexpedient, probably, that the person of the young duke should be entirely unfamiliar to his subjects⁵. But he soon returned to resume his place in the family of Edward III.

The itinerations of the royal nursery during the year 1349, are gathered from a wardrobe account of Queen Philippa, to whom was consigned the entire charge of the younger members of her family. They were at Westminster in January, and thence removed, in February, to Langley in Hertfordshire; as spring advanced, they went to Woodstock, and thence to Clarendon; in which

¹ Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III. ut sup. ² Morice; Preuves, vol. i., col. 1442.

³ It is stated in "*Les Grandes Chroniques de France*," vol. v., p. 429 that he confessed his treason before his death, but this statement is not supported.

⁴ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 445. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 334. Issue Roll, 22 Edw. III., Easter. He remained in England till his mother's death in 1359. Morice; preuves, vol. i., col. 1529.

⁵ He was at Vannes in May 1349. Morice, ut sup., col. 1474.

rural retreats they spent the summer months, retiring in September to Sunning, in Berkshire, for the remainder of the year. Their treasurer and purveyor was Robert de Creke, the queen's almoner; he received payments for dishes and salt-cellars purchased for their use, but of no costly material, since fourteen dozen of the former, and eight dozen of the latter, were bought for 39s., also for spices, fish, poultry, wine, beer, candles, hay, &c., provided for them and their households. Roger of Gloucester, the queen's treasurer, was occasionally sent to attend them, and to see that their wants were properly supplied. Perrote of Bretagne, the "damsel" of the Duke of Bretagne, and his sister, had a separate allowance of 100s. a-year, for their necessaries¹.

Time wore away pleasantly with the Princess Mary and her young *fiancé*. In all the happy heedlessness of childhood, they remained unconscious of the clouds that obscured their destiny; nor were they probably aware that the walls of the old Tower of London, which so often resounded to their frolic mirth, inclosed a melancholy captive, whose rivalry might yet cost them their ducal coronets.

The imprisonment of Lord Charles of Blois was very severe², and so irksome did it become to him, that at the end of five years he declared himself willing to submit to almost any terms his captor might require, for the sake of regaining his liberty. He offered to pay an enormous sum of money for his ransom, and to adhere henceforth to the cause of England, as conditions for his release; and proposed, moreover, that the Princess Margaret,

¹ Wardrobe Book of Queen Philippa, 23-24 Edw. III. Chapter House Documents, A. vi., 3, ff. 16, 21, 31, Rolls House.

² Froissart intimates the contrary, and that he was allowed to take horse exercise in the suburbs of London, but this is contradicted by his physician's account, which represents him as being permitted no exercise beyond the Tower yard, where he was continually exposed to the insults of the soldiers. *Morice*, vol. i., p. 278. *Lobineau*, vol. i., p. 344.

Edward's youngest daughter, should be united to his own eldest son, provided a dispensation could be obtained from the pope, to remove the obstacle of consanguinity between the parties; and that he and his countess should relinquish their claims, in behalf of the young couple, who should then be acknowledged by all parties rightful Duke and Duchess of Bretagne. As his personal presence in Bretagne would be necessary to collect the amount for his ransom, he proposed to send his two eldest sons to England, there to be detained until the money was paid¹.

This proposition had powerful supporters. The pope wrote to the English king in its favour; Queen Philippa, who was first cousin to Charles of Blois², was touched with compassion for his protracted misfortunes; and the countess, his wife, was vigorously exerting every effort to procure his liberation³. The king, whose coffers were always ill furnished, owing to his frequent wars, caught at the idea of the proffered ransom, which was fixed at the immense sum of 400,000 deniers⁴, and listened with seeming assent to the other part of the proposal, probably lest his rejection of the one might lead to the non-fulfilment of the other. Thus, for a short period, it seemed uncertain whether the destinies of the Lady Mary would not undergo a change; for the betrothal of her sister to the young De Blois must necessarily have involved the disruption of her own engagement with his rival De Montfort. But the Earl of Derby remonstrated with the king, on this apparent neglect of John de Montfort, whom he had so long protected; and on the impolicy of preferring to the dukedom of Bretagne a

¹ Livre du Bon Jehan, Duc de Bretagne, p. 441.

² The queen's mother, Jeanne de Blois, and Marguerite, the mother of Charles, were both sisters to Philip de Valois, King of France.

³ Morice; Preuves, i., col. 1486.

⁴ Morice, Hist., vol. i., p. 283.

family whose interests were essentially French, rather than one already bound to himself by so many ties of gratitude, and by alliance.

It may be presumed that King Edward, in spite of the seeming evidence to the contrary, had no serious intention of bestowing the hand of his daughter Margaret on the rival of her sister's betrothed. Political treachery was not one of his failings, and tempting as might appear the offers of Charles of Blois, his sense of honour was too strong to allow of his deserting the cause of the widowed countess and her son, who had placed themselves under his protection. Of this he gave a tacit pledge at the very time the negotiation was pending. On the arrival of the promised hostages, the young Princes of Blois, the whole party were permitted to be present at a grand tournament held at Smithfield, and this tournament was the opportunity chosen by King Edward, for the first appearance of De Montfort as Duke of Bretagne. The gallant youth was provided by his patron with a splendèd suit of armour for the occasion¹.

This significant hint was lost upon Charles of Blois. He hastened home, collected the ransom money, procured the pope's dispensation for the marriage of his son, and returned to England about Michaelmas, 1354, with a splendid train of Breton nobles, who came to be present at the wedding.

An opportune coincidence saved King Edward the annoyance of openly refusing his daughter's hand. A party of Bretons, who espoused the cause of Charles of Blois, seized upon a castle and territory in possession of the English, and wantonly slew all the Englishmen they could find. The king professed much displeasure at this

¹ Avesbury, p. 193. Issue Roll 33 Edw. III., Mich. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 345.

breach of faith, and withdrew from the treaty, on the pretext that it was first broken by the other party. Charles of Blois had no resource but to return to his Tower prison, from which he was not delivered till the year 1356, when the total discomfiture of the French at the battle of Poitiers, and the captivity of their king, rendered comparatively harmless any attempts which Charles, unsupported, could make in Bretagne. King Edward then only released him on condition of his promising a heavy ransom price of 100,000 golden florins, equal to 1,100,000 francs French money of the present day, and leaving his two sons hostages, until the time of payment¹. He also rigidly exacted the cancelment and restoration of all documents relating to the previously proposed treaty of alliance between them².

Meanwhile the plighted husband of the Lady Mary was springing up towards manhood, and began to develop symptoms of that martial vigour which afterwards procured for him the appellation of "the valiant." Feeling that he had no right to expect a princess of England to become the permanent sharer of his destinies, whilst they remained in so unsettled a state, he sought and obtained King Edward's permission to return in person to Bretagne.

The author of the romance of the Countess of Montfort, whose correctness in his general details of her history entitles his tale to some credence, relates that, during this absence from England, the young duke was allured into an attachment to a beautiful maid of honour, in the service of his mother, named Madlle. de Ponteallen, who was also beloved by Sir Taneguy du Chatel, mentioned by Froissart as one of the most gallant knights in the

¹ Avesbury, p. 194. *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. ii., p. 205. Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. ii., p. 110.

² Morice; *Preuves*, vol. i., col. 1509. A daughter of Charles of Blois had shared his captivity, and was released at the same time.

countess' service. The prudent mother, fearful lest any ebullition of boyish passion should tempt her son to infidelity to his engagement with his English *fiancée*, compelled the fair maiden to retire to a nunnery, although by this step she alienated the services of the brave Du Chatel, who immediately went over to the French party¹.

De Montfort was accompanied to Bretagne by his mother, and by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who held the appointment of regent, or, as he was styled, "captain" of Bretagne, under the king and the young duke²; a small but gallant body of troops sailed with them. They landed in Bretagne in the middle of May 1357³, and immediately laid siege to the strong town of Rennes, held for Charles of Blois, by the garrison and inhabitants, aided by several French knights, among whom was the famed Bertrand du Guesclin, then a young knight bachelor, who first tinged his maiden sword in a combat with the English knight, Sir Nicholas Dagworth⁴. Charles of Blois was urgent with the Regent of France to send forces to raise the siege of Rennes; but such was the disturbed condition of the country, owing to the captivity of the king, and its other misfortunes, that no troops could be spared for Bretagne⁵. The English party were not strong enough to reduce the place; and, therefore a

¹ Recueil de Romans, 1746, p. 194.

² *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 361. Lobineau; *Preuves*, vol. ii., p. 497. French Roll, 29 Edw. III., m. 6.

³ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 374. *Vie vaillant Bert. du Guesclin*, p. 26.

⁴ In the *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires, &c.*, edited by Michaud and Poujoulat, vol. i., pp. 430-472, is an interesting account of the adventures of Bertrand du Guesclin in the contests between De Montfort and Charles de Blois. Another, still more tinged with the chivalrous romance of the times, has recently been published by the French government amongst their *Documens Inédits*, entitled *La vie vaillant Bertran Guesclin, par Cuvelier*. It is written by a contemporaneous author, and in verse. But the most authentic account of this celebrated knight is the *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, folio, Paris, 1666*.

⁵ Froissart, vol. ii., p. 375.

truce was agreed upon for four years, and De Montfort and his party returned to England.

The province of Bretagne was still nominally held by King Edward, in behalf of the minor duke, and appointments of officers to administer the affairs of the duchy, were made in their joint names; but since the exigencies of war no longer required a person of the Duke of Lancaster's high rank, inferior men were substituted as captains¹.

The young duke now mingled more freely than before in the gaieties of the court, where he was treated with the respect due to his ducal dignity, and to his position as son-in-law of the king, although he and his mother were dependent upon King Edward, even for the clothes they wore².

In 1359, when the king was preparing to go over into France, at the head of an army more numerous and gallant than he had ever before led, he allowed the duke to attend him³. It was during this campaign, that the prudent counsels of the Duke of Lancaster, strengthened by the superstitious terrors inspired by a violent thunder-storm, so operated upon the mind of King Edward, as to incline him to listen to the proffered terms for peace with France. A temporary armistice was concluded, until the terms of a treaty, embracing such various and conflicting interests, could be digested. The duke returned home with the king. The following spring, he was anxious to avail himself of this interval of peace, to obtain some solid recognition of his rights to the duchy of Bretagne. In March, therefore, having first performed a votive pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, to pray for success in his enterprises, he went to St. Omer's, there to meet his rival,

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pp. 389, 392, 403, 406, 431, 625, 626, &c.

² Issue Roll, 32 Edw. III., Mich.; 33, Mich., and other rolls *passim*. Ward. Book, 33—34 Edw. III., No. 1213, Queen's Rememb.

³ Issue Roll, 33 Edw. III., Easter, 100s. were paid for a horse "for John, Duke of Bretagne, to go with the king to transmarine parts."

Charles of Blois, and enter into a mutual agreement¹. But their interests were so utterly at variance, and each was so unwilling to yield to the other, that they were obliged to leave the decision of their claims to be settled at the general peace. The terms of the treaty of Bretigny, between France and England, were agreed upon, in May 1360, to be concluded the following October, when the two kings were to meet the commissioners of both nations at Calais. To this last meeting, the settlement of the affairs of Bretagne was postponed.

The appointed time at length arrived; and the French and English monarchs, with a long train of English nobles and diplomatists, set out to join the French commissioners at Calais. To the surprise of every one, after all other matters had been discussed, the important point of the succession of Bretagne, about which so much blood had already been shed, was left an open question. The reasons that induced King Edward thus to neglect the interests of his *protégé*, at a time when he was procuring terms so advantageous to himself, are involved in some mystery. Froissart intimates that it was a concerted plan between the two kings, with the design that a war in Brittany might afford diversion and occupation for the numbers of restless spirits, who, living by their swords only, would otherwise be apt to commit ravages in the countries where they were disbanded. He adds, that "it was a pity and ill done that so it happened: for if the two kings had been in earnest, peace would have been established, by the advice of their counsellors, between the parties, and each would have held what should have been given him." The Duke of Lancaster, whose association with the young De Montfort had produced a sincere attachment between them, and "who was," says Froissart, a "valiant and discreet knight, full of

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pp. 607, 608, 612. *Ward. Acct.*, 34—35 Edw. III., *Queen's Rememb.*

devices, and who strongly loved the Count de Montfort and his advancement," addressed the French king, in presence of King Edward and the greater part of the counsellors, as follows:—"Sire, the truces of Bretagne, which were made and agreed to before Rennes, will not expire until the first of the ensuing May; then, or within that time, the king, our lord, will send, by the advice of his council, persons from him and from his son-in-law, the young duke, Sir John de Montfort, to you in France, and they shall have power and authority to explain and declare those rights which the said Sir John claims from the inheritance of his father in the duchy of Bretagne, and to receive them in such manner as you, your counsellors, and ours, assembled together, shall ordain. For greater safety, it is proper that the truce be prolonged until the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) next ensuing." All this was agreed to, according to the Duke of Lancaster's proposal, "and then," adds our chronicler, "the lords conversed on indifferent matters¹."

The only direct reference to Bretagne was a declaration that nothing in the treaty of Bretigny should be considered prejudicial to the claims of either party; that deputies should be appointed to examine the question of the long-disputed inheritance; and that, in case of failure of an amicable adjustment, no interference on the part of France or of England, in abetting their respective partisans, should be construed into a breach of the peace. A stipulation was included for the restoration of John V. to the earldom of Montfort, of which his father had been deprived at the commencement of the war. The most feasible solution of the king's conduct on this occasion is, that he was conscious that any attempts he might make towards a more definite arrangement would be met by proposals for a partition of the

¹ Froissart, vol. iii., pp. 61-63. Lobineau, vol. i., p. 359.

duchy between the rival claimants; to which he was not prepared to agree; and that, by leaving the question open, he hoped to take advantage of a favourable opportunity, when the French, already exhausted by their long struggle, were not in a condition to resist, to restore the duke to the entire possession of his paternal inheritance. With the vain title of King of France, King Edward had renounced the sovereignty and homage of the duchy of Bretagne, but it was with an express reservation of the rights of the Count de Montfort, and his claim on the duchy of Brittany¹.

In the interval of the truce, the only path that remained open was that of negotiation. In the spring of 1361, therefore, the young duke, who now began to take a leading part in the management of his own concerns, set out for St. Omer, attended by several English commissioners, to give the meeting to his rival, Charles of Blois, and the commissioners of France. He was handsomely furnished with provisions, horses, and equipage by his father-in-law, who also sent a number of "clerks" or lawyers to attend him, and arrange the business parts of the proposed treaty. But, to the surprise of all concerned, neither Charles nor the French diplomatists made their appearance at the appointed place of meeting². Nothing could therefore be done, and Duke John returned to England, dispirited and oppressed, longing to find, in domestic happiness, a solace for his disappointment, whilst still remaining an unwilling pensioner upon the bounty of his father-in-law.

The Princess Mary had availed herself of the time when her attractions to court were lessened by the absence of her betrothed, to pay a long visit to Leicester, to the wife of her brother John of Gaunt, Blanche of Lan-

¹ Froissart, vol. iii., p. 49.

² Morice; Preuves, vol. i., col. 1547. French Roll, 35 Edw. III., m. 13.

caster, Countess of Richmond, who had just been confined of her first child¹. Blanche was the daughter of Duke John's faithful friend, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and, therefore, the tie of grateful friendship, as well as that of relationship, would bind the princess to her. Her visit of congratulation was soon turned into one of mournful sympathy, by the death of the venerable old duke, who was cut off by the plague on the 24th of March, 1361, lamented alike by the royal family and by the whole nobility of the kingdom².

This is the only recorded occasion on which Mary left home for even a short time. Little license appears to have been granted to her or her younger sister, either in reference to visiting or expenditure; the amusingly small sum of twenty marks a-year was all that was allowed to them for pocket-money. This must have been on account of their juvenility, for we have seen that their sister Isabella, who was Mary's senior by more than twelve years, was at this time revelling in estates and manors, and jewels and pensions, lavished upon her by her father.

The Duke of Bretagne had now completed his twentieth year; and, both in person and mind, was endowed with vigour beyond his age; the Lady Mary had nearly completed her seventeenth year, and he was anxious for the conclusion of the marriage; not only from attachment to the gentle girl who had been so long his plighted wife, but from a conviction that the fulfilment of the marriage would render more close and irrevocable the tie that bound King Edward to embrace his interests. The

¹ Issue Roll, 34 Edw. III., Easter. Her marriage took place in May 1359. *Sandford*, p. 265. This writer assigns no dates to the births of the children of John of Gaunt. He supposes Henry IV. to have been born about 1366, but, supposing him to be the eldest child, he must have been born in the year 1360.

² Froissart records his death with touching brevity. "At this period died, in England, the good Duke of Lancaster, whose Christian name was Henry. The king and all his barons and knights and squires were much afflicted, and wished it had not been so." Vol. iii., p. 94.

king acceded to his solicitations, and in the summer of 1361, the nuptials were solemnized at Woodstock. No particulars of the ceremony remain on record, excepting that the bride was attired in a splendid robe of cloth of gold of Lucca, furred and turned up with ermine¹. Her marriage made little difference in her position, she and her husband remaining, as before, inmates of her father's court; it was thought preferable to postpone more elaborate equipments until the young bride should leave England and enter the dominions of her lord, as acknowledged Duchess of Bretagne.

These anticipations were never destined to be fulfilled. Within thirty weeks after her marriage, the young duchess was attacked by a lethargic disease, from which it was impossible to rouse her; and under its influence she gradually sank away and died, within a few weeks of the decease of her younger sister Margaret².

The remains of the royal sisters were conveyed together to the abbey of Abingdon, where their sorrowing

¹ Issue Roll, ut sup. Ibid., 38, Easter.

² Guillaume de St. André, the author of the rhyming chronicle of John IV., entitled "C'est le Livre du Bon Jehan, Duc de Bretagne," thus refers to the marriage of John V. and the early death of Mary:

"Et auprès li si succeda
 Jehan son fils, qu'il moult ama,
 Et fut nourri durant la guerre
 En la court du roy d'Angleterre,
 Et si l'avoit le roy si chier
 Marie sa fille au derrénier
 Li bailla à femme espouse,
 (C'est chose vraye, bien dire l'ouse.)
 Mais ne vequit pas longuement
 De quoi Jehan fut moult dolant.
 Trente sepmaines furent ensemble,
 Sans plus ne moins comme il me semble,
 Si mourit la noble Marie
 A qui Dieux vuielle octroyer vie,
 Pardurable, sans nulle fin!
 Prion très touse qu'il soit ainsin."

Documens Inédits, published by the French Government, *Série Historique Politique*, vol. ii., p. 438. See also Chron. Ang., Harl. MS., 3648, f. 14 b. Sandford, p. 199.

mother, Queen Philippa, who thus saw herself deprived of two lovely girls, just on the eve of womanhood, erected magnificent tombs to their memories¹.

Mary's effigy is still to be seen on the south side of her father's monument in Westminster Abbey. The features are less regularly beautiful and of a more melancholy cast than those of her sister Joanna. The hair is banded across the brow, interwoven with beads and fillets, and a veil falls from the back of the head over the shoulders. The surtunic is jacket-shaped, rounded below, and adorned with a row of large buttons; the arms are covered with tight mitten sleeves, finished with embroidered bands. A shield of the ancient arms of Bretagne, which were checky or and azure, impaling those of England, decorates and identifies the figure².

The young duchess had never once visited the dukedom, of which she had enjoyed the title almost from her birth. Her death was sincerely regretted, both by her husband and father, for each felt that the tie which had so long proved a bond between them was broken.

The year after the death of Mary, King Edward formally relinquished the guardianship of Bretagne into the hands of Duke John, who had now reached his majority³, entering at the same time into a close alliance with him⁴, and exacting a solemn promise that he would never enter into any matrimonial connexion whatsoever without his consent⁵; in order that their union might run no risk of

¹ Issue Roll, 40 Edw. III., Easter. Introduction to Devon's Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. Rob. Reading, Harl. MS., 685, ff. 327 b., 331.

² Carter's Ancient Sculpture, &c., vol. ii., p. 3. Brayley's Westminster, vol. ii., p. 97.

³ Morice; Preuves, vol. i., col. 1546.

⁴ Ibid., col. 1549.

⁵ Ibid., col. 1552. In this curious document the earl declares that, bearing ever in mind the great good honour and love long shown him by the English king, in nourishing his person and sustaining his wars in Bretagne, and especially giving him in matrimony his late dearest companion the Lady Mary his daughter, he feels bound to do all in return that is agreeable to the king, and therefore, of his own pure and

being weakened by the marriage of John with a foreign princess. This part of the engagement, at least, John fulfilled. With the king's approval, he united himself to Joanna of Holland, daughter of the Princess of Wales, by her first husband, and half-sister of Richard III.

The remainder of his career was very varied. In 1362, he returned to Bretagne, to renew the contest for his inheritance, and the year following, a pitched battle was on the eve of taking place, when several bishops interfered to prevent such reckless bloodshed; and, by their mediation, Duke John and Charles of Blois agreed to a treaty of partition of the duchy. But Charles' wife, the Countess of Penthievre, resolutely withheld her consent to a treaty which she deemed disgraceful; declaring that, woman though she was, she would rather lose her life, or two lives if she had them, than consent to so shameful a thing¹. To please his wife, Charles de Blois violated his word of honour, given to observe this treaty of partition², and renewed the war; but fatally for himself, for the following year he was slain at the battle of Auray³. His last words were that he had long been warring against

mere will, without force or coercion, grants and promises,—touching the holy evangelists with his right hand in confirmation,—that at no future time will he take in marriage, matrimony, or espousals, any dame, damsel, or other woman in the world, without the express will and accord of his said lord and father; nor will give any pledge to any king, prince, duke, baron, or other person whatsoever, touching his marriage, without such licence, on pain of being reputed false, disloyal, and wicked, convicted of breach of faith, and incurring such reproach, blame, and ill fame as any one must be liable to in such a case.

¹ She is reported, by a contemporaneous versifier, to have thus fiercely addressed her spouse:—"Sire, what would you do? By God, you have not the heart of a valiant knight, if you will thus give away, like a recreant, the pleasant heritage of your wife. No knight, be he who he may, is worthy to hold lands unless he will defend them with drawn sword." *La vie vaillant Bert. du Guesclin. Cuvelier, p. 207.*

² Du Chatelet, *Hist. de Bert. du Guesclin*, p. 52.

³ Hearne's *Otterbourne*, p. 144. Mezerai intimates that the nobles of the Montfort faction swore to take away his life, as the only means of securing peace to the duchy. Interesting details of the battle are given by Froissart, vol. iii., p. 176 et seq.

his conscience. When his corpse was brought into the presence of his rival, the young De Montfort is said to have burst into a flood of tears, and to have exclaimed, "Ah! my sweet cousin, by your stubbornness you caused many evils to Bretagne. God pardon you! I am sorry you have come to so evil an end¹."

By reason of the death of Charles of Blois and the continued detention of his two elder sons in England, Duke John was at length placed in undisputed possession of Bretagne², on condition of his consenting to pay homage for it to the French king; a stipulation with which he reluctantly complied the following year³.

The duke's mother had previously relinquished all active share in the management of his affairs; she retired to the pleasant château of Lucinio, near Vannes, where she passed the remainder of her days in comparative tranquillity⁴. For some years Duke John remained faithful to

¹ L'Art de Vérifier, vol. ii., p. 905. Froissart, vol. iii., p. 197.

² The treaty between John V. and the Countess Jeanne, by which he is recognized Duke of Bretagne, on condition of allowing her Penthievre and Limoges and 10,000 livres tournois, was signed October 15, 1364. *Bretagne Carton, Archives du Royaume*. In the *Livre du Bon Jehan*, so often quoted, is a curious account of a subsequent interview between them at Tours, which was specially noted for the kisses, caresses, and honours they lavished upon each other! P. 555.

³ The form and particulars of this homage are preserved among the original documents relating to Bretagne in the *Archives du Royaume, Paris*. In the first place, Duke John sent an humble apology to the king by Oliver de Clisson and Hugh de Montalaire, Bishop of St. Brien, his chamberlain, for delay in presenting his homage. The king accorded forgiveness, and expressed his wish to receive the homage in the usual form. Whereupon Duke John, according to custom, took off the hood from his mantle and laid it aside, then approached the king and knelt before him with hands clasped. The Bishop of St. Brien, in his master's name, thus addressed the monarch:—"Très excellent Prince, Voilà le Duc de Bretagne qui vous fait hommage du duché de Bretagne et pairie de France, comme à son souverain seigneur, en la forme et manière que ses prédécesseurs avoient de coutume faire à vos prédécesseurs, Roys de France, vous offrant la bourse et les mains." The king then took Duke John by the hands and kissed him.

⁴ Roman de la Comtesse de Montfort, p. 205.

his English allegiance¹; and this conduct rendering him distasteful to the Bretons, who looked upon their province as pertaining to France, he was obliged, by their revolts, to take refuge in England. He left his duchess shut up in the castle of Auray, then besieged by the French; which circumstance, with the wasted condition of his dukedom, weighed much upon his spirits. "The duke," says Froissart, "while he resided with the King of England, was very melancholy: upon which, the king, who much loved him, said, 'Fair son, I well know that, through your affection to me, you have put into the balance and risked a noble inheritance; but be assured that I will recover it for you, for I will never make peace with France without your being restored.'" On learning these fine promises, the duke bowed respectfully to the king and thanked him²."

To console him, in some measure, for the losses he had sustained, the king regranted to him and to his wife, Joanna, the whole of the Richmond estates, which he had been requested formally to relinquish to John of Gaunt, on the death of the Princess Mary³.

During his exile from Bretagne, Duke John joined an expedition against the French, headed by the Duke of Lancaster, his brother-in-law, with whom he exchanged vows of perpetual friendship; but a quarrel arose between them about the payment of the wages of their troops, on which the Breton duke returned into England⁴. He had not to wait for the assistance of King Edward

¹ The Cotton. MS., Julius B. vi., contains many documents relating to the transactions between England and Bretagne in the latter part of the reign of Edward III. and in that of Richard II.

² Vol. iv., p. 266.

³ Cf. Patent Roll, 31 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 3. Patent Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 32. His letters appointing Thomas Melborne his procurator to take possession of the Richmond estates, are in the *Archives du Royaume, Paris*, dated 1371. They were again forfeited in the 7th year of Richard II. *Cotton's Tower Records*, p. 338.

⁴ Livre du Bon Jehan, p. 493 et seq.

to reinstate him in his possession of Bretagne. After an absence of four years, he was recalled by his subjects, on account of the injudicious conduct of the French king, who attempted to destroy the independence of the duchy by annexing it to the crown of France. At length John made his peace with King Charles, and renewed his homage in due form for Bretagne; but his policy was often deceitful; on the one hand, his own early attachment to England remained unaltered, at least during the life-time of his father-in-law, King Edward; whilst, on the other, the strong predilections of his subjects to the side of France obliged him to keep peace in that quarter¹. The vacillations occasioned by these conflicting interests have laid him open to an unjust charge of fickleness².

The latter days of the duke were disgraced by his perfidious seizure of the constable of France, Oliver de Clisson,

¹ See his abridged memoirs in *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. ii., pp. 904-905, fol. edit., also "*Chronique d'un religieux de St. Denis*," by M. Bellaquet, *passim*, and "*Les Grandes Chroniques de France*," vol. vi., pp. 339, et seq.

² The following digest of original documents which were examined by the author in the Archives du Royaume, Paris, fully attests the deceitful policy of Duke John, since many of his treaties with France were made whilst he was actually an ally of England.

1369, Oath of fidelity to the crown of France sworn by the chancellor of Bretagne.

1369, October 25, John sends an excuse by Clisson for not having been to France, and promises continual loyalty.

1380, January 15, Treaty of peace between Charles V. and John of Bretagne.

1380, April, Ratification of treaty.

1381, Three letters of John, in which he affirms that the king of France has restored divers castles, according to treaty.

1381, September 27, Compiègne, John and many Breton gentlemen went to visit the king there, and John supplicated pardon for all his faults; king granted it and received his homage.

1381, September 29, Compiègne, New treaty between Bretagne and France against England.

1387, September, Alliance with France against England and Navarre.

1394, October, Propositions and answers about enterprises of the Duke versus Charles VI.

whom, on an imaginary affront¹, he ordered to be put to death, in a castle whither he had invited him to pay a friendly visit; and he only escaped the stain of murder, by the prudence of his servants, who failed to execute his orders. Although when his passion had subsided, he was greatly relieved to find his bloody mandate unfulfilled, he only released his prisoner on payment of an enormous ransom, and the delivery of all the fortresses in his keeping².

Duke John died on the 1st of November, 1399, not without suspicion of poison³, and was interred in the cathedral of Nantes⁴. He was said to be violent in all his feelings, loving to madness, hating to fury, and rarely overcoming a prejudice once entertained⁵, yet renowned for his personal bravery and his love of chivalric exercises⁶. By his first two wives he had not any children,

¹ This, as related by a contemporaneous chronicler in Martène's "Thesaurus Anecdotorum," was a jealousy inspired into the duke by the King of Navarre, that De Clisson was too familiar with his wife, Joanna of Navarre; the king averred to having seen him kiss her behind a curtain. For a farther account of this affair, see *Chronique d'un Religieux, ut sup.*, p. 480. The chronicle contains many details of Duke John's career, by no means flattering to him.

² A treaty of settlement, by the French peers, of the disputes that arose between them is in the Archives du Royaume. Duke John was by it obliged to refund 100,000 francs of ransom money paid by De Clisson. An interesting account of the whole affair is given in *Chron. d'un Religieux de St. Denis*, pp. 480-488.

³ *L'Art de Vérifier*, vol. ii., p. 905.

⁴ A drawing from his statue in that cathedral is engraved by Montfaucon.

⁵ Feller, *Dict. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 220.

⁶ He was the founder of an order of knighthood called the Order of the Ermine, in which ladies were allowed to enter, and were styled "Chevalresses." *Lobineau, Hist. de Bret.*, vol. i., pp. 442, 656; vol. ii., p. 627. *Maurice*, vol. i., p. 381. *Anselme, Palais de l'Honneur*, p. 136. *Livre du Bon Jehan*, p. 144. For further details of the duke's later career, many of them curious and interesting, but irrelevant here, see *Froissart*, vol. iii., pp. 172, 208; vol. iv., pp. 207-8, 220, 234, 266-272; vol. v., pp. 145-8, 177-9, 226-234, 243, 275; vol. viii., pp. 146-153, 225, 232-262, 289-306; vol. ix., pp. 134-6, 150, 182, 192, 222; vol. x., pp. 248, 286, 329-331; vol. xi., pp. 11-16, 114, 191-203, [283; vol. xii., pp. 121, 188.

but a large family by his third and surviving wife, Joanna, daughter of Charles the Bald, King of Navarre, whom he married in 1386, and who was subsequently well-known as the queen of Henry IV., of England.

MARGARET,

FIFTH DAUGHTER OF EDWARD-III.

CHAPTER IX.

Various statements as to time and place of birth—Attention to her dress—Proposed marriage with the son of the Duke of Austria—Afterwards with John of Blois—Both abandoned—John, Earl of Pembroke—Friendship between him and the Earl of Cambridge—Mutual attachment of the Earl of Pembroke and Margaret—Marriage—Residence at English court—Death of Margaret—Grief of Earl John—His second marriage—Installed Lieutenant of Aquitaine by Edward III.—Taken by Spanish fleet—Imprisoned in France—Ransomed by aid of De Clisson—Died in 1375.

THERE is some contradiction amongst our ancient chronicles and records, in reference to the birth-place of this princess. Froissart at the close of his spirited description of the siege of Calais, says that King Edward and his queen remained at Calais “until the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, named Margaret¹,” and his authority is followed by most of the later genealogists, who entitle the princess “Margaret of Calais.” Not only is this account opposed to the date assigned to her birth by several contemporaneous authorities, viz., July 20th, 1346², some months before Queen Philippa went abroad: but we have the indubitable testimony of records, that Windsor was the birth-place of the princess, for on more than one issue roll, she is expressly named as “Margaret

¹ Vol. ii., p. 230.

² Rob. Reading, Harl. MS., 685, f. 297. Hearne, *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 431. Adam of Murimuth, p. 154 b. Walsingham, p. 158.

of Windsor¹." The mention of her name in connexion with Calais, favours the supposition that when Queen Philippa, about three months after the birth of Margaret, visited the continent, she took the infant with her; and that the child remained with her parents until their return to England the following year.

Whilst at Calais, the king observed that the attire of the young princess did not correspond with his ideas of elegance and propriety; and therefore, on his return, he issued special orders to the keeper of the wardrobe, that the robes of the Lady Margaret, the king's daughter, should be made of cloth of silk, and in every respect fitting her estate².

The first proposal for the marriage of Margaret was with the eldest son and heir of Albert, Duke of Austria, and deputies were sent on both sides to treat of the terms of a marriage treaty, the amount of dower, and the time when the princess would be required to go to Austria; but political changes put an end to the negociation³.

A few years later, Margaret was threatened, for a short time, with an alliance with John of Blois, eldest son of Lord Charles of Blois⁴, the rival in the dukedom of Bretagne, of her sister Mary's husband, John de Montfort. The reasons which led to its proposal, and afterwards to its abandonment, being closely involved with the history of John de Montfort, have been given in the preceding memoir⁵. This marriage would have

¹ Issue Roll, 50 Edw. III., Easter. Ibid., 41 Edw. III., Mich.

² Wardrobe Roll of the Pipe, 18 Edw. II. to 24 Edw. III., Queen's Rem., sub anno 22 Edw. III.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., p. 134. Date, Calais, September 1, 1347. "One of the king's daughters" only is mentioned in the document; but we have previously seen that at this period Margaret's three elder sisters were already engaged.

⁴ Lobineau, vol. i., p. 346.

⁵ See p. 278, *supra*.

placed the sisters in a very painful juxtaposition, had it taken place, since the advantage of the one would ever have been fraught with detriment to the other. King Edward's policy, as we have seen, adopted the more honourable course of favouring the alliance first proposed; and thus, instead of being early removed to a foreign court, the young Margaret was brought up under the kindly influences of a mother's love, and in the companionship of her sister Mary, who was only two years her senior, and of her young brothers.

Among the children of the nobility who frequented the court of Edward III., as occasional companions of his numerous family, was John, son and heir of Lawrence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. His father died in 1348, when the child was but a year old, and he became a ward of the king¹. His mother was Agnes, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the guilty favourite of Queen Isabella, and therefore much associated with the early life of King Edward. In 1355 Agnes was married again to Sir John de Hakeluyt, a person of inferior birth, long a confidential servant of the king; on which Edward granted to her and her husband, the custody of the castle and town of Pembroke, during the minority of her own son; still retaining in his own hands, the guardianship of the young heir².

The intimacy enjoyed by this young nobleman with the royal family gave rise to an ardent and romantic friendship between him and Prince Edmund of Langley, afterwards Earl of Cambridge, resulting, in after-years, in a companionship and brotherhood of arms, which was only interrupted by death.

No less ardent was the attachment formed by young

¹ Issue Roll, 26 Edw. III., Easter. Dugdale, vol. i., p. 576.

² His mother died in 1368, bequeathing to him by her will, dated 1367, a complete suit of rich vestments of cloth of gold. Dugdale, vol. i., p. 576.

John to the sister of his friend, the Princess Margaret. Nurtured amidst the same scenes and associations, the sympathies of the young couple were mutually elicited, and their affections interchanged. King Edward, discouraged perchance by his often thwarted scheming to marry his elder daughters to foreign potentates, or unwilling to oppose an union that would enable him to retain his youngest daughter near himself, and to witness her happiness when united to the husband of her choice, offered no opposition to their wishes.

Accordingly, in the year 1359, the court was gay with preparations for twofold nuptials, which were celebrated on the same day. The Princess Margaret became the bride of the Earl of Hastings, and her brother Lionel was married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of the Earl Ulster, to whom he had long been betrothed, and who had been educated with the royal family. Two thousand pearls were purchased, at a cost of 216*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to deck the persons of the youthful brides; and the brow of Margaret was graced by a coronet of gems, presented by her father for the occasion¹.

At this time Margaret had not completed her fourteenth year, and, although she assumed the title of Countess of Pembroke, she still remained an inmate of her father's court; whilst her husband accompanied his friend and brother-in-law, Prince Edmund, in his first campaign, which they both performed in attendance upon the king in 1359. The peace that ensued the following year, after a lengthened period of turmoil and contest, reunited the royal family. The Princess Isabella still remained unmarried; the husband of Margaret and the *fiancé* of her sister Mary were both residing under the

¹ Issue Roll, 33 Edw. III., Mich. A catalogue of the Earls of Pembroke in Lansdowne MS., 708, f. 21, mentions Margaret's marriage *three* years before her death, in 1361; but as the Issue Roll gives 1359 as the date, it was probably little more than two years.

protection of the king; and thus Edward III. and his queen enjoyed the felicity, rare indeed to monarchs, of beholding their family all gathered around them.

But the ruthless power that severs the most endearing of earthly ties, was soon to intrude upon this tranquil circle. In 1361, death snatched away, at one stroke, the two youthful princesses, and they shared the same tomb, erected by Queen Philippa, in the monastery of Abingdon¹.

The husband of Margaret deeply lamented her death; the sorrows of buoyant fifteen are however readily healed, and two years afterwards the young earl consoled himself by a union with Anne, daughter and ultimately heiress of Sir Walter Mauny, one of the bravest captains of Edward III². The king ever retained a strong affection for him, and years after the decease of his daughter, he still spoke of the earl as his dear son³.

The chivalric exploits of the Earl of Pembroke, in company with the Earl of Cambridge, in Bretagne and Gascony⁴, are recorded at large by Froissart⁵, and prove him to have been worthy of the favours showered upon him. In 1372, the king conferred upon him the lieutenancy of Aquitaine⁶, and he set out full of sanguine hopes of winning laurels in the war in that province; but

¹ See page 287, *supra*.

² Froissart, vol. i., p. 255. Issue Roll, 38 Edw. III., Easter.

³ He continued to receive presents of dresses, wine, &c., from the king. *Ward. Accts.*, 749, 1206, *Queen's Rem.*

⁴ Whilst in Gascony he received from the royal exchequer 16s. per day for his expenses. He was attended by twenty knights, who had 4s. each per day, by thirty-nine who had 3s., and by eighty archers, paid 1s. *Brantingham's Issue Roll*, edited by F. Devon, Esq., p. 406.

⁵ Vol. iii., pp. 403-410, 443-6; vol. iv., pp. 9-20, 62-7.

⁶ The details of this appointment are thus given by Froissart:—
“The king, at the entreaty of Sir Guiscard d'Aisgle and the Poitevins, appointed the Earl of Pembroke Governor of Aquitaine, in room of the Duke of Lancaster, with orders to hasten to those countries and to conduct the war against the French. The Gascons and Poitevins had requested of the king, by letters as well as by Sir Guiscard d'Aisgle, that, if he should be advised not to send any of his own children, he would nominate the Earl of Pembroke, whom, as they loved him much,

they were speedily frustrated. He was intercepted, off Rochelle, by a fleet of Spaniards, in alliance with France; and, after an obstinate conflict with superior numbers, was taken prisoner¹. His captivity lasted more than two years, during which he was treated with inhuman severity, until at length he was ransomed, by aid of the Constable of France, De Clisson, to whom he appealed in his distress². It was said that slow poison had been administered to him before he left France, for he fell sick on his way home, and died at Arras on the 16th of April, 1375³, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, leaving an only child, John, then two and a half years old, who was the last male heir of his race⁴, and was accidentally killed at a tournament in 1390⁵.

The marvel-loving chroniclers of the day have noted, that since Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, had been an agent in the condemnation of Prince Thomas

they desired to have, for they knew him to be a good and a brave knight. The king, therefore, spoke to the Earl of Pembroke, who with several other barons and knights was present at this council, saying:—‘John, my fair son, I ordain and institute you governor and captain of all the men-at-arms in Poictou, who, according to the accounts I have had, are very numerous, and also of those you will conduct from hence thither. You will therefore accompany Sir Guiscard d’Aisgle into Poictou.’ The Earl of Pembroke, falling on his knees, replied, ‘My lord, I return you my warmest thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me. I will act for your majesty beyond sea as one of the least of your marshals.’ ” *Vol. iv., p. 152.*

¹ Froissart, vol. iv., pp. 151-162.

² Dugdale, vol. i., p. 576. Barnes, p. 871. It was said that his captivity was a judgment upon him either for some wrong inflicted upon the church at St. Edmondsbury, or because he led an adulterous life; but neither of these charges is well supported, and probably they are merely the results of the spirit of the age, which ever strove to associate marked misfortune with corresponding guilt.

³ Pat. Roll, 51 Edw. III., m. 30. Chron. St. Albans, Lamb. MS., 6.

⁴ Froissart, vol. iv., p. 255. The Harl. MS., 310, f. 35, contains a petition for the young earl to be permitted to bear the golden spurs before King Richard II. at his coronation; a right claimed on the ground of his descent from the Marshal family. The claim was acknowledged, but as the child was only five years of age, the office was executed by proxy.

⁵ Hearne’s Otterbourne, p. 179.

of Lancaster, in the time of Edward II., no Earl of Pembroke had ever lived to be recognized by his son, nor any son to be cared for by his father;—a judgment considered to be inflicted upon the house, for the guilty deed of their ancestor¹.

¹ Hearne's Otterbourne, p. 179. Barnes' Edw. III., p. 871. Hearne's Will. of Worcester, p. 437.

BLANCHE,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF HENRY IV.

CHAPTER X.

Interval of time since the record of the last princess—Daughters of Henry IV. born before his accession—Connexion of the Earl of Derby with the royal family—Guardianship of Mary de Bohun by the Earl of Buckingham—Intrigues of John of Gaunt—Marriage of Mary de Bohun with the Earl of Derby—Birth of Blanche—Literary and musical tastes of the Countess of Derby—Residence at Peterborough Castle—Death of the countess—Her children reside with their grandmother—Presence of Blanche and her sister at the anniversary of their mother's death—Household of the children—Sojourn at Eton and various visits—Residence in London—Wardrobe entries—Banishment of the Earl of Derby—His return—Deposition of Richard II. and elevation of Henry IV.—Removal of the princesses to Windsor—Conspiracy against the king and his children—Defeated—Blanche's prominent position in her father's court—Presides at a tournament—Allegorical letters—Proposed marriage alliance with Charles VI.—Rejected by his uncles—Proposals from Louis of Bavaria—Marriage dower and lands settled on Blanche—Procurators of Blanche—Conditional alliance of Louis with Arragon—Tax for her marriage portion—Tardy payment—Consequent delay of the princess' journey—Her retinue and equipment—Chapel furniture—She sets sail in June—Courteous reception by various princes during her journey—Arrival at Cologne and meeting with Louis—Marriage—Congratulatory letters from Henry—Reception at Heidelberg—Letters of Louis and Rupert to Henry IV.—Affection of Rupert for Blanche—Friendship between the English and Bavarian courts—Empress Elizabeth and her daughter—Church at Heidelberg—Poverty of Rupert—Receives loans from his son—Jurisdiction of several towns granted to Louis and Blanche—Delay of the instalment of dower—Urgency of Rupert and Louis for payment—Unsuccessful embassies—Remonstrances of Louis—Small remittances—Rupert and his son decline to join Henry in his war against France—Domestic happiness of Blanche—Stillborn child—Residence at Neustadt—Illness—Birth of a son—Death of Blanche—Respect paid

to her memory—Excessive grief of Louis—Distress of her father—Child named Rupert—Dies in 1426—Louis succeeds his father in the electorate—Makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem—Pope John XXIII. Louis' prisoner—Louis patron of literature—Marriage with Matilda of Savoy—Government possessed by Matilda—Friendly relation with England continued by Louis during the reign of Henry IV.'s successors—Death of Louis.

THE plan of the present work, which is to follow out, as far as may be, the career of each daughter of an English sovereign, in chronological succession of birth, leaves an occasional blank in the course of events; since long periods have transpired, during which the court of England has been ungraced by the presence of a princess. Such, with one brief exception, was the case, from 1369—the date of the death of the Lady de Coucy, the last survivor among the daughters of Edward III.—to 1465, when Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV., was born. Richard II. was childless. Henry V. and Henry VI. had each one son, and no daughter. The only break that occurs, during this long interval, is that of the six years from 1399, the date of the accession of Henry IV., to 1405, when his youngest daughter left England, to become the queen of a foreign state. But as private biography, not public events—the lives of persons, not the history of the age—are here attempted to be portrayed, our princesses will lack nothing of individual completeness by these blanks; and the reader will be prepared to make allowance for the difference in habits, manner, &c., produced by the advance of years.

The daughters of Henry IV. present one peculiarity of rare occurrence, in the royal biography of England. They were not *born* princesses, nor did there seem, at the time of their birth, any probability of their attaining the illustrious positions they were afterwards called to fill. They passed their early childhood in comparative privacy, as the offspring of a nobleman, nearly allied indeed to the blood royal, and by his personal qualities, as well

as by his connexions, endeared to the people, but who was still many steps removed from the throne. In them, therefore, we have a specimen of the training and manner of life of the higher classes of English society, towards the close of the fourteenth century, so far as the course of their career can be traced by the scanty records now in existence. These records consist chiefly of the wardrobe accounts of their father, before he became king, many of which are in beautiful preservation, in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster.

It should be borne in mind that the children of the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., were descended from King Henry III., through their maternal grandmother, Blanche of Lancaster. She was the younger daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of the "good Duke Henry," nephew of the unfortunate Thomas of Lancaster, who fell a victim to the cause of popular rights, in the contest against Edward II.'s minion, Gaveston, in the year 1321¹. Of the Duchess Blanche, Froissart records, that such noble dames as she and the late Queen of England, Philippa, so liberal and so courteous, he never saw, nor ever should he see again, were he to live a thousand years²!

This lady transferred the estates and earldom of Lancaster, by marriage, to John of Ghent her third cousin, the second son of Edward III³. Their son Henry,

¹ Her grandfather, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was brother and heir to Thomas of Lancaster, slain in the civil war. Both were sons of Edmund Plantagenet, younger brother of Edward I. *Lansdowne MS.*, 863, f. 174. *Barnes' Edw. III.*, p. 321.

² Vol. iii., p. 4, Johnes' translation. She died of the pestilence in the same year as the queen, 1369. *John of Malvern, Middlehill MS.*, 1042, 90, sub anno 1369.

³ At this marriage a tournament was proclaimed for three days, in which the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London were the challengers; but the king, fearing perchance that his worthy citizens would not acquit themselves with due chivalric gallantry, put on the disguise of a citizen, and he himself, with four of his sons and nineteen nobles, tilted, in their stead, to the admiration of the spectators, which was

already descended from English royalty on the side of both parents, was united in marriage to Mary de Bohun, heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Northampton, and grandson of Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Edward I.; so that a threefold cord united the scions of the Earl of Derby to the genealogical tree of the Plantagenets¹.

The marriage of Henry of Derby and Mary de Bohun forms a romantic episode, little known in the courtly history of the period. It is given in Johnes' translation of Froissart². Mary de Bohun and her elder sister, Eleanor, were left by their father, the last Earl of Hereford, sole heiresses of his estates, which were valued at 5000 nobles a-year. Eleanor was married to Prince Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, and in her right, of Essex, subsequently Duke of Gloucester. As the whole of the De Bohun estates would devolve upon his posterity, in case the sister of his wife died childless, it was his interest to keep the Lady Mary unmarried. He therefore obtained permission from his elder brother, John of Ghent, who was appointed her guardian³, to have her under his control. He entrusted the care of her education to the nuns of the order of St. Clare, and took all possible pains to give her mind a religious bias. His efforts seemed likely to succeed, for the youthful Mary shewed a decided inclination towards the conventual life selected for her. But the Earl of Buckingham went on a warlike expedition into France. During his absence, John of Ghent conceived the idea, that his beautiful

increased to enthusiasm when they discovered the real rank of the performers. Barnes' *Edw. III.*, p. 364.

¹ The grandmother of the Earl of Derby, Isabel de Beaumont, wife of the good Duke Henry, was cousin-german to Isabella of France, queen of Edward II. *Collins' John of Gaunt*, p. 5.

² Johnes says that it is to be found in only one MS. copy of that author, and not in any previously printed edition.

³ The wardship of Mary was valued at 5000 marks, and was granted

ward would make an excellent match for his own son Henry, Earl of Derby. He was a little at a loss how to manage the negotiation, the young lady being left under the care of her sister the Countess of Buckingham; the person, of all others, least likely to promote the success of the scheme. In this dilemma, John of Ghent secured the co-operation of the Lady Mary Fitz Alan, their maternal aunt, who paid them a visit of friendship at Pleshy castle, and, on her departure, prevailed with the Lady Mary to accompany her to Arundel castle, the residence of Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, her brother, and Mary's uncle¹. This nobleman was already engaged in favour of the scheme, and had invited to his abode the Duke of Lancaster and his son, then described as a gay and gallant youth, endowed with every accomplishment likely to fascinate a young and inexperienced girl². A few days effected a sudden revolution in the destiny of Mary de Bohun; the prospective vestal stole was exchanged for the nuptial veil, and the destined nun became the bride of one of the handsomest cavaliers in Europe.

Vehement, though fruitless, was the indignation of the Earl of Buckingham, when, on his return, he discovered the trick that his brother and nephew had played him, and it is said that he "became melancholy, and never loved the Duke of Lancaster as he had before done."

Four fair sons, who followed each other in rapid succession, were born to the Earl and Countess of Derby; and they were afterwards gladdened by the arrival of an infant daughter; her birth took place in the castle of Peterby Richard II. to his uncle, in compensation for war payments due to him. *Collins, ut sup., p. 40.*

¹ The relationship was twofold, Joanna, Countess of Hereford, Mary's grandmother, was a daughter of the house of Arundel, and Earl Richard married Elizabeth de Bohun, only sister of Mary's deceased father.

² See Hayward's *Life and Reigne of Henry IV.*, 12, Lond., 1599.

borough, on one of the estates inherited by her mother, in the spring of the year 1392¹. The child was baptized, with much pomp, in Peterborough cathedral, the font of which was elaborately decorated for the occasion, with cloths from Champagne and Flanders²; she received the name of Blanche, in memory of her paternal grandmother, of whom mention has already been made.

The early infancy of this child was passed under the guardianship of her mother, whose loving gentleness of character won for her the ardent attachment of her husband and children, and the general regard of the nobility. The Countess of Derby possessed some literary attainments, and was passionately fond of music. She excelled as a performer on the guitar, then an instrument very fashionable; and minstrels, whether English or foreign, were courteously welcomed whenever they presented themselves before the gates of her castle, and were handsomely rewarded for their performances³.

Peterborough castle was the favourite residence of the countess, during the infancy of her children⁴. Their infantile prattle beguiled many a solitary hour passed during the absence of her lord, who went on two several expeditions to the East, and was away, each time, about a year⁵.

¹ No chronicler records the date of her birth; it is gathered from the above-recorded mention of her baptism, corroborated by a casual allusion of Henry IV. in a document dated December 1st, 1406, to his eldest daughter, as being then "fourteen years old and more." *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1., p. 105.

² Ward. Acct., Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, from May 14th 14 Rich. II. (1391) to the same day, 15 Rich. II. (1392). See also chronological tables prefixed to Tyler's Henry V.

³ The wardrobe account of the Countess of Derby, 11—12 Rich. II. records a fragment for three dozen and four knots of guitar strings, bought for "the lady." That of the year 14—15 Rich. II. mentions payments to foreign minstrels playing, at Peterborough, on the lute and the fiddle: also to English minstrels, to a trumpeter from London, a clarion-player, &c., &c.

⁴ Ward. Acct., February, 15—16 Rich. II. Ibid., 16—17 Rich. II.

⁵ The first journey was from May 1390, to April 1391, when he

But they were soon deprived of her tender care. She died on the 4th July, 1394¹, at the early age of twenty-four, soon after the birth of her youngest daughter, Philippa². This loss was the greater to the bereaved children, because their grandfather, John of Ghent, had just lost his second wife, Constance of Castile, a lady whose amiability and accomplishments well fitted her to supply the place of their deceased mother.

In prospect of her dissolution, the Countess of Derby had no female guardian to whom she could intrust her children, excepting her own beloved mother, the dowager Countess of Hereford, who, happily for her and for them, was still living³. To her care, the dying mother committed two of her sons and her little daughters; and even before her decease, they were taken to reside with their grandmother, at Bytham castle, in Lincolnshire⁴. This lady, though possessing much decision, and even sternness of character⁵, was alike distinguished for

went on a crusading expedition, in aid of the Teutonic knights, into Prussia and Lithuania, and thence into the states of Barbary. During his absence, his expenses and progress are minutely given in his wardrobe account. We find him paying liberal sums to minstrels and fiddlers, and compensating a messenger who brought him tidings of the birth of his youngest son, Humphrey. His second tour was designed to extend to the Holy Land, but he did not follow out his original plan. He left England in July 1392, for Dantzic; went thence to Königsberg, through Vienna and Friuli to Venice, whence he set sail for Rhodes, the most distant point at which he arrived. He returned by Venice and Milan, through Piedmont, Savoy, Burgundy, and France, and landed at Dover the last day of June 1393. *Ward. Accts. Henry of Lancaster*, 13—14 and 16—17 *Rich. II.*

¹ Leland's Collect., vol. ii., p. 383.

² Hearne's Otterbourne, p. 183.

³ This lady was the daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Her mother, Eleanor, was daughter of Henry, third Earl of Lancaster, and consequently great granddaughter of King Henry III.

⁴ *Ward. Acct.* June to February, 17 *Rich. II.*

⁵ The chronicle of the betrayal of the death of King Richard, edited by B. Williams, Esq., for the English Historical Society, pp. 252-3, contains an account of this lady; it details the unrelenting sternness with which she avenged upon the Earl of Huntingdon, half-brother of

her love of the arts and for her devotion to religion¹; and, being still in the prime of life, she proved an efficient protectress to her grandchildren.

In 1395, Blanche and her sister were taken to Leicester, the burial-place of their mother, to attend a solemn anniversary service performed to her memory. The chapel was hung with black cloth, and sable garments were distributed to twenty-four poor people who were present at the ceremony². The young ladies then put off their mourning attire, and were provided with gowns, mantles, and hoods of scarlet cloth, bordered with green, for their daily wear; whilst their state-dresses prepared for Christmas were of cloth of Baldekin, trimmed with costly silk of Tripoli, and the capes furred with ermine. This attire, it will be observed, was for children the elder of whom was only four years of age.

The establishment of Blanche and Philippa consisted of a lady mistress, named Mary Hervey; a sort of steward, named John Green, who was their factotum man of business,—tailor, furrier, or general purveyor, as occasion might require; and for each a nurse, who slept on pallet beds beside their young mistresses; and a waiting-maid.

Richard II., his share in the judicial murder of her own brother, Richard, Earl of Arundel.

¹ She adorned the nave of Walden Abbey with very curious sculptures in stone, and bestowed upon it many precious relics. In this abbey many of her later years were spent in the exercises of devout prayer and meditation. She died in 1319. *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i., p. 187. Henry IV. regarded her with much affection. Some time after his accession to the throne, in a grant of privileges to her, he speaks of her as his "dearest mother, the Countess of Hereford." *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 9.

² The memory of the Countess of Derby was fondly cherished by her son, Henry V. Two months after his accession to the throne, he caused an image of her, newly devised and made, to be placed over her tomb at Leicester. *Tyler's Henry V.*, p. 17. A valuable tract was written, in 1836, by J. S. Hardy, Esq., F.S.A., to prove that the beautiful monument now existing in the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Leicester, is that of the Countess of Derby, which was removed from the dilapidated chapel adjoining the castle.

In addition to these, the younger child, the Lady Philippa, still retained the services of "Agnes the rocker¹." A knight of the chamber, a gentleman esquire, two pages of the chamber, and two of the wardrobe, complete the list of their attendants, excepting those employed in culinary and domestic capacities.

In September 1396, Blanche and Philippa were sent to reside with their knight of the chamber, Richard Waterton, whose house was at Eton; and they remained with him twelve months. The sum of 13s. 4d. per week was paid for the board of each of the young ladies; 2s. 4d. each for their superior attendants; and 1s. 9d. for each of their pages. Their esquire received, as his wages, 7d. per day².

On leaving Eton, they went to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and thence visited their former abode at Bytham. From the latter place they journeyed to Framlingham castle, in Norfolk, the residence of Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Norfolk³, and of their second brother, Lord John, who was in the charge of that lady. After a short stay there, they returned, by Hertford, to London, taking up their abode in their father's town residence, a capacious mansion, with a large garden attached, in Bishopsgate street, which had previously been cleaned out and prepared for their reception. Their brothers, Henry and Thomas, now shared the same habitation. The youths were initiated in the boyish exercises of riding, and began to make their appearance in public, attending, with their father, the opening of Parliament.

Meanwhile, the two sisters were entering upon their early education. In February 1398, when Blanche was

¹ Ward. Acct., Henry Earl Derby, 18—19 Rich. II.

² Ward. Acct., ut sup., 20—21 Rich. II., in the office of the duchy of Lancaster.

³ She was eldest daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas de Brotherton, fifth son of Edward I., and was created Duchess of Norfolk for life. *Nicolas' Synopsis*, vol. i., p. 471.

not yet seven years old, it was determined that she should be taught to read; an accomplishment by no means universal in those days, but which the gradual dawning of intellectual and religious truth soon brought into more general vogue. Accordingly, at the cost of twenty pence, two books of A, B, C, were purchased for the use of the ladies Blanche and Philippa¹. The eldest daughter now emerged occasionally from nursery surveillance, and mingled in the courtly circles frequenting her father's house, attired in a robe of damask cloth of gold of Cyprus, and wearing a golden chaplet and a collar of S.S. of gold².

A few miscellaneous particulars, from the often-quoted wardrobe accounts, relating to the young ladies at this period, are worthy of record, as illustrating the manners and expenses of the time. Eighteen pence were paid for a mortar to keep a light constantly burning in their room at night. Sixpence to a barber at Tutbury for shaving their heads;—it is to be hoped, for their appearance' sake, that this is only a figurative expression for hairdressing;—9lbs. of soap were bought for their use in washing, price

¹ Several notices of a literary character occur in the wardrobe accounts of the Earl of Derby, such as payments for the purchase of three quires of paper, two pairs of *pater nosters*, for the repair of books, when their backs were broken, for seven books of grammar for young Henry, for a pocket breviary, a missal and a bible bound in red leather bordered with white leather, and garnished with green silk, to be presented to the king. Humphrey, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of Blanche, is well known as a literary man. He was the collector of 129 "fayre volumes," which he presented to the library at Oxford. He is mentioned by Titus Livius, in his life of Henry V., as "in literarum et omnium humanarum divinarumque rerum studiis ceteros principes quantum est qui vivant, superantem." He furnished this historian with many of the materials for the life of his illustrious nephew, Henry V. See *Hearne's edit.*, p. 2. An autograph memorandum occurs in the Cottonian MS., Nero E. v., at the end of a beautiful MS., entitled "Ordinationes et Statuta in Constantiensi Concilio," formerly belonging to him. It is as follows:—"Cest livre est a moy, Homfrey, Duc de Gloucestre, lequel j'achetay des executeurs maistre Thomas Polton, feu eveque de Wurcestre."

² It is said to be wrought with thirteen letters S. *Ward. Acct.*, February, 20—21 Rich. II. There are many more entries for dress, too numerous to detail.

18*d.*, that is, 2*d.* per lb.; two pairs of shoes at 2*d.* per pair. Their sheets, towels, and hose were made of cloth sent from Flanders. In lieu of drawers or wardrobe, wherein to bestow their apparel, they had "a hurdle of rods," alias a large wicker press, constructed for the purpose. Their attendants were all supplied with attire suitable to their several conditions¹.

The autumn of 1398 witnessed the prohibition of the duel between the Earl of Norfolk and the Earl of Derby at Coventry, and the banishment of both these nobles from England²; and a few more months bring us to the death of "old John of Ghent, time-honoured Lancaster," and the return of Henry of Derby, to vindicate his ancestral rights, speedily followed by the deposition of the weak and unfortunate Richard II., and the elevation of the Earl of Derby to the throne as Henry IV.

Thus unexpectedly were the children of the earl raised, by the events of a few months, to the dignity of princes and princesses of England. They were removed from their residence in Bishopsgate street to Windsor castle, and there installed in all the honours of royalty. The eldest son, Henry, was created Prince of Wales, at the next Parliament, even before the death of the ex-king, Richard II.

Their newly-acquired dignity had all but proved fatal to the possessors. A strong party of the nobility, who viewed with indignation the sudden elevation of Henry of Bolingbroke, and scorned to bow the knee before one to whom they had so lately extended the right hand of

¹ Ward. Accts. of Earl Derby, 18—19 and 20—21 Rich. II. The latter of these records names also "offerings at a requiem mass for the late Earl of Kent;" the purchase of "two canopies for the table of the king and queen, put up in the house of the Friars Carmelites in London, because they ate there with the earl during the time of the parliament;" and payment for a seal of silver, weighing 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz., bearing the arms of King Edward, England, and Hereford, with the name of the Earl of Hereford.

² Tyler's Henry V., p. 29.

fellowship as a brother peer, plotted the destruction of the newly-elected sovereign and his children. They hoped to seize the king, with his eldest sons, at a tournament at Oxford, to which they invited him; and the younger children at Windsor castle. Henry had timely notice of the conspiracy, absented himself from the tournament, and hurried with his children to London¹. The lords seized the castle, but found, to their disappointment, that their prey had escaped.

The Princess Blanche, now in her ninth year, held the first place in the female royalty of England; the court of her father being as yet ungraced by the presence of a queen. In this elevated capacity she was appointed to preside at a grand tournament held at Eltham, at the Christmas of 1400, which was honoured by the presence of Manuel Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, and of a large concourse of nobility².

This occasion gave rise to a series of curious epistles, addressed to the princess from a number of imaginary personages, all submitting to her decision their humble petitions for leave to be present at this tournament. The first of these letters purporting to be from the Sun, is couched in the following terms, which are a literal translation of the French original:—

“Phœbus, the principal planet of the firmament, to the most excellent princess, the Lady Blanche, daughter to

¹ Caxton's cont. of Higden, f. 325. Walsingham, p. 403, and other authorities state that the whole plot was to be executed at Windsor. “This yere,” says the Chronicle of London, p. 86, “on the twelfth daye after Cristemasse, the Erle of Kent, the Erle of Huntingdon, the Lord Spenser, Sr. Rauf Lumley, and manye othere knyghtes and squyres were purposyd to have sclayn the kyng and hise children, at Wyndesore, and those that helde with them, be a *mommynge* (masquerade); but, as it fortunede, the kynge hadde warnynge, and anon he rood to London in gret haste, and made hym strong to ryde on his adversaries aforesaid.”

² Otterbourne's Chron., p. 230. Stowe, p. 326. Leland's Collect., vol. ii., p. 311. Walsingham, p. 405. Cotton. MS., Vitel. A. xvi., f. 37 b. Vita Rich. II., by a monk of Evesham, p. 173.

the most puissant king of Albion, sends greeting and perfect affection. As we, in our continual course encompassing the high circle of the firmament, seeing by our clear inspection the government of all earthly things, know for certain, that as everything, like the moon our sister, takes its course and receives light directly from us, so does the splendour of this world receive nourishment and glory from your royal court, as, by your right, the fountain of honour and nobility. We, desiring the entrance of our dearly beloved child, Ferombras, to this fountain, send him to your highness, to see the parade of your royal court, and to learn the deeds of battles with arms; entreating you, that you would please to command some one of your honourable knights, who are at your feast, to run six courses of the lance with our said child, with weapons of the same size¹, on high saddles, unbound and unfastened, in order that our said child may return to us the better after his fighting, as we trust most entirely in you. And if there be anything on your part that we can do for your joy or consolation, be pleased to certify it to us by our child, and we will accomplish it, with right joyful and attached heart. May the Creator of all creatures keep and govern your excellent and honourable estate, in honour, joy, and perfect prosperity. Given at our marvellous mansion of the firmament, in a full court of stars."

Another of these letters purports to be from "Jenneste, by the grace of the god of love, queen of joy and all gladness," and alludes to a knight who has recently distinguished himself in France, as likely to be present at this grand chivalric display. Another is from "Daledede, by the grace of Mahomet, god of all true Infidels and Saracens, Sultan of Babylon, Sultan of Alexandria," &c. In

¹ *Roches d'Assise*. The author cannot satisfactorily decide the meaning of this term. See Halliwell's *Archaic Dict.*, *sub voce*, *Assise*, No. 2.

this epistle, Henry IV. is mentioned as the successor of Arthur and Charlemagne, and allusions are made to the emperor, and to many renowned and noble ladies, knights and squires, who are to appear at the jousts; some riding on dragons, others bearing serpents, or brandishing torches and firebrands.

The allegorical writers of the remaining letters are "Nature, the nurse of life;" "Virtue, the mother and nurse of honour, a dame of perfect plesaunce;" "Venus, the mother of Cupid, god of love;" "Penelope, wife of Ulysses;" "Cleopatra, by the grace of Saturn, and all the other planets, queen of Mesopotamia!" and several youths of different names and characters, all soliciting, according to their various modes of address, the permission of the Lady Blanche to be present at her feasts¹. These curious effusions probably emanated from personages representing, at the jousts, the characters they assumed, but who those personages were, and what reply the lady of the tournament vouchsafed to their addresses, our deponent witnesseth not.

No sooner was Henry IV. seated on his unsteady throne, than he began to seek the support of foreign alliances, as necessary to his own security, as well as advisable for the advantage of his family. His first thoughts were turned towards France. He had reason to fear that King Charles VI.,—whose youngest daughter, Isabella, as the nominal wife of the deposed King Richard, had enjoyed, at ten years of age, the dignity of Queen Consort of England,—would support the cause of the late king, his son-in-law, and refuse to recognize his own legitimacy as sovereign. The unfortunate Charles, constantly subject to aberration of mind, was chiefly governed by his uncles. To them, therefore, King

¹ Arundel MS., Heralds' College, f. 33. These documents, full of incidental illustrations of the chivalry of the period, have not been published, though well deserving the attention of the curious.

Henry wrote, to propose a wholesale marriage negotiation between his children and those of King Charles, or the nephews, nieces or cousins of the French king. The Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Worcester were appointed commissioners to arrange these marriages; "it being," says the king in his letter on the subject, "one of the most important of the glorious cares of the state, and one of the richest fruits of regal solicitude, to unite other kings by the ties of affinity; by which mutual defence is secured, and wars and oppressions averted¹."

Henry was inexperienced in his *métier de roi*, or he would have learned that the hands of princes and princesses are not so readily disposed of, by the half-dozen, and that a little more ceremony and circumspection would be required, before his four sons and two daughters would be suitably mated. His alliance was altogether declined by the French.

Very shortly after the disappointment in this quarter, a more feasible match offered itself for his elder daughter, the Lady Blanche. Proposals were made by the Emperor Rupert, titular Duke of Bavaria, and Elector Palatine of the Rhine, for a marriage between his eldest son Louis, and the Princess Blanche. Although Rupert had been on terms of cordial friendship with King Richard II.², this proved no obstacle to a correspondence, or even an alliance with his supplanter; and in January 1401, he appointed commissioners to negotiate the union³. King Henry nominated the Bishops of Hereford and Rochester, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph, Earl of West-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pt. 4, p. 170, date November 20, 1399, two months after the accession of Henry IV.

² He received 1000 marks annually from the English exchequer, which were paid to him for many successive years. *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pt. 4, pp. 129, 130, 143. *Nicolas' Privy Council Acts*, vol. iii., pp. 12, 76, 77, 179; vol. iv., p. 294; vol. v., p. 315.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pt. 4, p. 194.

moreland, his brother-in-law, to meet the commissioners¹. The treaty proceeded with extraordinary rapidity, and, on the 1st of March, it was agreed that the marriage should forthwith take place; that Henry should give his daughter 40,000 English nobles as her portion², and send her abroad, provided with such "paraphernalia, jewels, and ornaments, as became the majesty of the daughter of a king, and the eldest son of an emperor, and would conduce to their honour and glory." On the other hand, Rupert and his son promised to settle lands, to the value of 4000 nobles a-year, upon Blanche and her heirs for life; the lands to be selected by her attorneys before the marriage. The following year, between Easter Sunday and the third Sunday after Easter³, Blanche was to be sent at her father's expense, and "in a disposition to fulfil the marriage⁴," to Cologne; there to be honourably received by the emperor and his son; by them to be conducted to Heidelberg, and married on the ensuing Sunday. Other arrangements were added, in reference to the money transactions, in case of the decease of either party; and the main items being determined, commissioners were appointed⁵ to decide the times for payment of the marriage portion, and to agree upon the lands to be assigned to the young bride. These points were settled without difficulty, on the 7th of June following, be-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pt. 4, p. 196. Cotton. MS., Vitellius C. xi., f. 5.

² The first arrangement in reference to the marriage portion was that it should be paid in one sum and on a fixed day, at Cologne. *Historia et Commentationes Acad. Elect. Theod. Palat.* vol. vi., *Historic.*, 4 *Manheim*, 1789, pp. 358-362. The final decision was for the payment by instalments.

³ Here occurs a mode of reference to dates, curious and not infrequent in ancient records; that of naming a Sunday or feast after the *introit* or first words of the mass for the day. Thus the third Sunday after Easter is called the "Jubilate" Sunday, the fourth "Cantate" Sunday, &c.

⁴ "Animo perficiendi matrimonium." *Historia et Commentationes*, *ut sup.*

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pt. iv., p. 197. Cotton. MS., Vitellius C. xi., f. 6.

tween three commissioners appointed by the emperor, two of ecclesiastical and one of legal dignity, and three from England, designated as "Sir William Esturmy, knight, John Knighton, bachelor of laws, Robert Waterton, servant of the most illustrious Henry, King of England and France, and of the ingenuous and sublime Lady Blanche, elder, natural and legitimate daughter of the aforesaid king." They agreed that the portion of 40,000 nobles be paid in three instalments: the first, of 16,000 nobles, in 1402, on the arrival of the princess at Cologne; the second instalment of 16,000, at the same date in the following year, and the remaining amount of 8000 at a time and place still left undecided¹.

Moreover, "lest the said marriage, long desired and adopted by God, and pleasant to men, should be suspended," the commissioners expressly renewed the spousals which had been contracted on the 7th of March, previously; and Rupert pledged himself to obtain the corroboration of his cousin Stephen, Duke of Bavaria and Ingolstadt, and four other nobles, for the fulfilment of his part of the contract—the payment of 4000 nobles a-year to the Lady Blanche—requesting Henry to obtain a similar confirmation, by Edmund, Duke of York, and ten of the English nobility, of his promise in regard to the payment of the portion². These two confirmations were readily obtained: that of the German nobles was signed at Mayence on the 2nd of July³, and that of the English nobles at London, on the 1st of August. The preamble of the latter states that the nobles, finding the king has happily married his illustrious daughter, the Lady Blanche,

¹ Harl. MS. 431, f. 122 b. This MS. contains several letters between Henry and Rupert, at ff. 16, 16 b, 26.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. i., pp. 5, 6. Cotton. MS., Vitellius C. xi. ff. 7 b, et seq. This MS. contains the whole of the transactions between Rupert and Henry, written by a contemporaneous hand, including several documents not printed in the *Fœdera*.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 8. Cotton. MS., ut sup., f. 11.

to the noble Lord Louis, and considering the union so glorious, desirable, and fortunate, hoping that it will tend to the friendship of the said kings, and the prosperity of the Christian faith, and wishing to avoid delay, make themselves and their heirs responsible for the payment of the portion, at the stipulated periods, under the penalty of being noted as transgressors of good faith, in case of non-payment¹.

Many prolix negotiations occurred, during the few subsequent months, in reference to the appointed dowry payments, into which it were tedious to enter². One stipulation of singular purport deserves notice: that should King Henry fall short, in any part of the promised payment of 40,000 nobles, for each deficiency of ten nobles, one should be deducted from the 4000 to be annually enjoyed by the princess; thus leaving her the sole contingent sufferer from her father's delinquencies³.

During the period of these negotiations, the princess remained at Windsor. On the 29th of August, in presence of her brother Henry, Prince of Wales, the Earls of Somerset and Warren, Lord Henry de Beaumont, and many other nobles, as witnesses, she issued her letters patent, authorizing her well-beloved knight, Sir William Esturmy, and Master John Knighton, Canon of Lincoln, in whose authority, industry, and provident circumspection she professed great reliance, to act as her procurators in inspecting and assigning over her lands. The patent is headed thus:—"We, Blanche, eldest, natural, and legitimate daughter of the most serene prince and our lord, the Lord Henry, by God's grace, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, legitimately married to my

¹ *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 21. Cotton. MS., ut sup., f. 13. Lansdowne MS., 160, f. 153.

² *Fœdera*, ut sup., pp. 11, 13, 14, 24-25. Cologne was the place ultimately fixed for the payment of the second and third instalments of the dowry, the last to take place on Martinmas day, November 11, 1403.

³ *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 20.

Lord Louis, eldest, natural, and legitimate son of the most excellent prince and our lord, the Lord Rupert, by God's grace, King of the Romans, ever august, to all," &c. Louis is always alluded to in the document, as her "lord and dearest husband¹."

Blanche's commissioners accordingly proceeded to the Palatinate. On their arrival, Rupert authorized his son to allow them to make their selection of any part of his dominions which they might think fit, for the jointure lands of the princess, excepting only the imperial residence itself². Rupert was at this time absent on an expedition in Italy, leaving his son vicar-general of the empire; but, on the 31st of December, he sent, from Venice, a full approval and confirmation of the selection made by Blanche's procurators, which included the castles and towns of Germersheim, Naumberg, Hagenbach³, and many others, all described at length, with their several rents and revenues; and charged his three younger sons never to disturb the princess or her heirs in their peaceable possession of the same⁴. The selected domains were delivered over to Esturmy and Knighton, and their in-

¹ Cotton. MS., Vitellius C. xi., f. 17.

² Chmel. Regesta Chron. Diplom. Ruperti Regis Roman., p. 52, date September 9, 1401.

³ A letter from Louis to the Bishop of Worms details the purchase of Naumberg and Hagenbach from his faithful subject, Diethem of Ins eltheim, to whom they belonged; the price to be paid as soon as the receipt of the princess' marriage portion should furnish him with the requisite funds. In the meantime, as pledge of the promised amount, 6000 dollars, Diethem was to hold the castle of Dryfels and half of Ladenburg. *Historia et Commentationes Acad. Elect. Theod. Palat.*, vol. vi. *Historicum* 4 Mannheim, 1789 p. 362. This letter, dated Germersheim, Thursday after the Sunday in which "Quasi Modo Geniti" is sung in the church, 1402, is printed from the original autograph at Worms.

⁴ The Cotton. MS., ut sup., ff. 18—19 and 26—29, gives these particulars in full. They are briefly recapitulated in a patent of King Henry. *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 20. Several half-obliterated documents relating to this jointure, one of which names provision for wine, &c., for the princess, are among the privy seal bills of Henry IV. Chapter-House Documents, Rolls House.

habitants were strictly charged to pay due allegiance to the princess¹.

It is a curious fact, illustrative of the uncertainties of political diplomacy, that during this very period, when the negotiations for the English marriage of Prince Louis had assumed so definite a shape, the emperor still held out hopes to Martin, King of Arragon, of a marriage between Louis and his sister, if the union with Blanche should not take place; if it should be completed, then the Arragonese princess was to be united to his second son, John².

King Henry, anxious to fulfil his engagements in reference to his daughter's dowry, with the same promptitude that had been shown by her betrothed lord and his father, levied the tax, recognized by feudal custom, for the marriage-portion of his eldest daughter³, and ordered it to be paid into the royal exchequer before the middle of February 1402⁴. But the monies came in so slowly, and in proportions so inadequate to the royal necessities, which were increased by the prospect of military operations against the rebels in Scotland and Wales, that Henry was obliged to depend upon borrowed resources, and he wrote to numbers of his subjects, requesting loans of 40*l.* to be sent in at or before Easter, to aid him in this his emergency, which he entreated them by no means to omit, as they valued his estate and that of the kingdom⁵.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 24.

² Letter of Rupert to Martin, dated February 14, 1402. Martène, *Thesaurum Anecdotorum*, vol. i., col. 1689.

³ This was 20*d.* on each knight's fee held direct from the crown, and 20*d.* on each twenty *libratæ* of land held by soccage—a *librata* containing four ox-gangs of thirteen acres each. King Henry levied this tax by advice of his privy council, though without authority of parliament.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, pp. 18, 22; pt. 2, p. 10. Nicolas' *Acts of Privy Council*, vol. i., p. 184.

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 23.

Easter arrived, and brought with it some supplies, but still insufficient to meet the demands of the equipment and portion of the princess-royal, although in three weeks more she was appointed to be at Cologne. The postponement of her journey was thus rendered necessary, and a messenger was sent to Germany to "prorogue" the wedding-day, and to offer suitable explanations and apologies. On the 15th of May, the king wrote in earnest terms to his council, complaining of the delay in the payments of the marriage-aid, by which the passage of his daughter was hindered to his great cost, and praying that, "leaving all other business and excuses whatsoever," they will forthwith give orders for the immediate payment of the arrears¹. These vigorous measures were productive of at least partial success.

The king had employed the intervening months in preparations for his daughter's departure. Elizabeth, the widowed Countess of Salisbury², was appointed to attend the princess in the capacity of governess, with a salary of 100*l*. Her household consisted of eight damsels and a laundress, a treasurer, valet of the robes, palfreyman, eighteen esquires, one of whom was her former attendant, John Green, a clerk, two chaplains, a minstrel, and a knight armourer, with eight or nine other domestics³. The commissioners appointed to accompany the princess were John, Earl of Somerset, her uncle, and Richard, Bishop of Winchester⁴. Walter, Lord Fitz-Water, William de la Zouche, Lord of Totness, and other young nobles and knights attended her, at their own pleasure and expense, for the gratification of sharing the nuptial jousts and festivities.

¹ Nicolas' Privy Council, *ut sup*.

² She was the daughter of John de Mohun of Dunster, and widow of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1397. *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i., p. 648.

³ Issue Roll, 3 Hen. IV., Easter.

⁴ The Earl of Somerset received 66*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*., and the Bishop of

Those who were officially appointed to accompany the young lady received a formal summons to be in readiness for the time first fixed upon, in the following terms:—

“By the king. Dear and well-beloved,—We signify to you that in the treaty lately formed between the ambassadors of the very high and mighty prince, the King of the Romans, and ours, assembled at Dort, touching the contract and convention of marriage, between the eldest son of the said King of the Romans, and Blanche, our well-beloved eldest daughter, it was agreed that our said daughter should be at Cologne, within three weeks after Easter next ensuing, there to be delivered to the other party. We earnestly pray you that, without any excuse, you will hold yourself to be ready and prepared to leave our city of London, about the time of the approaching Mid-Lent, for the said parts, in the company of our daughter aforesaid; understanding that for the costs you shall sustain on this account, you shall be reasonably satisfied, if God will. Given under our privy seal at Westminster, the 14th of February¹.”

The beginning of June was the time ultimately fixed for the departure of the princess, and vessels were ordered to be in readiness, with divers “victuals and other harness,” for the transport of herself and her suite².

The poverty of the exchequer prevented Henry IV. from supplying his daughter as fully as he had promised, with all the equipments suitable for the princess-royal of England. From the all but total absence of wardrobe accounts, during this reign, few details of her outfit remain. The bill for her jewels amounted to 25*l.*; that for her plate to 194*l.* 15*s.*; a list of the articles,

Winchester 240*l.*, as compensation for the expenses of their voyage. *Issue Rolls*, 3 Hen. IV., Mich. and Easter. *Devon's Excerpta*, pp. 284, 292. *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 22.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 25.

including an alms-dish in the form of a ship, two large chandeliers, spoons, basons, ewers, &c., is still in existence¹. In the wardrobe department, her furrier's bill amounted to 157*l.*; for woollen cloths of different colours 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid. Probably the more costly articles of attire, such as silks, velvets, &c., were comprised under the following entry:—

“To Master John Chaundeler, clerk, appointed by the lord the king and his council, treasurer to Blanche, the king's eldest daughter, in money paid to him by assignment made this day, by the hands of Richard Clifford, clerk, junior, for ten cloths of gold and other merchandize purchased of Richard Whittington, citizen and merchant of London, 215*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and by the hands of Wm. Cromer, citizen and clothier of the said city, 380*l.* for the apparel and paraphernalia of the said Blanche, in her approaching voyage to Cologne, for the solemnization of a marriage between the son of the King of the Romans and the said Blanche. By writ, &c., 395*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*”

From the coincidence of dates, there is no doubt that the “Richard Whittington” here alluded to is identical with the Whittington “thrice lord mayor of London town,” whose romantic rendering of bell-chimes has immortalized him in our nurseries; whilst the sober, indefatigable industry of the real Whittington, “the citizen and merchant of London,” are well worthy the imitation of our riper years.

The service for the princess' chapel was furnished from the profuse stores of the late King Richard, and is mentioned in considerable detail. It comprised a large array of vestments of cloth of gold, of red and blue damask,

¹ Bills of Privy Seal, vol. B. v. 2, Chapter-House Documents, Rolls House, Nos. 130, 131, 311. The last of these documents is an order for payment of these bills to Christopher Gildesley, the goldsmith, and also of 190*l.* due to him for jewels provided for Queen Isabella, consort of Richard II.

² Devon's Excerpta, p. 283.

wrought with the assumption of the Virgin, and an entire set of plate¹.

All preliminaries being completed, Blanche took leave of her father and brothers and sisters, and set sail, under the guardianship of her uncle, early in the month of June. King Henry, as well as the emperor and his son, had written letters to all the princes through whose territories the bride-elect would have to pass, entreating them to receive her honourably, and to attend her during her journey through their several domains². Accordingly, the Earl and Countess of Holland, the Earls of Artois and Cleves, the Bishops of Liège and Utrecht, the Archbishop of Cologne, and more especially the Duke of Gueldres, who was an intimate friend of Louis of Bavaria, were prepared to meet the princess with the homage due to so illustrious a traveller.

In the early part of July she arrived at Cologne, where Louis awaited her, attended by a small suite of German nobles, but with little of the pomp or display of an emperor's son³. Rupert, who was expected to honour the nuptials with his personal presence, did not make his appearance at Cologne; a circumstance that excited some displeasure on the part of the English commissioners, who considered it a slight upon their young princess⁴. The account of the marriage, which was performed according to German modes⁵, is thus quaintly given in an old English chronicle:—

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 42. The articles named are three albs, three amices, two stoles, three maniples, two short tunics, two curtains, a chasuble, three copes, a frontlet and counter frontlet, towel and other draperies *en suite*; a pair of silver chandeliers, a *bénitier*, or holy water vessel, with the sprinkler of silver embossed, a cross, with a silver crucifix embossed, a chalice, two silver vials, and a missal.

² King Henry's letters are preserved in full in the Cotton. MS., Galba E. viii., f. 129 b, col. 2, &c. Short notices only appear of those of Rupert and Louis.

³ *In apparatu simplici* is Otterbourne's expression, p. 235.

⁴ Walsingham, p. 407.

⁵ *Ibid.*

“And in this same year, Dame Blanche, the eldest daughter of Henry the Fourth, was sent over the sea, with the Earl of Somerset, her uncle, and with Master Richard Clifford, that was then Bishop of Worcester, and with many lords and ladies, as belonged to such a worthy lady, and came unto Cologne; and thither came the duke’s son of Bavaria, with a fair many¹, and received this worthy lady, and there the Bishop of Worcester wedded them, and *sacred* (consecrated) them together, as holy church would. And there was made a royal feast, and a great joust, in the reverence and worship of them, and to all people that came thither. And when this feast and marriage was done, the earl and bishop, with all their men, took their leave and came again into England in safety².”

Another chronicler speaks more largely of the lords and knights and ladies, with worthy clerks and singers, and with much worthy people that belonged to them, who accompanied the princess to Cologne³; but it is evident that the English did not bring home a favourable impression of the splendour of the princess’ reception, though it seems to have lacked nothing of cordiality.

The solemnization of the nuptials was immediately announced to King Henry, who sent a messenger to congratulate his daughter, and to bear to her letters of affectionate regard⁴. The first instalment of the promised dower had been punctually delivered to the treasurer of the Lady Blanche, and was presented

¹ This expression means, in plainer terms, a small train. It has been transcribed or altered by other chroniclers into a “great many,” or “a fair mien,” or “a fair man.” See *Cotton. MS., ut sup.* *Chron. Brute, Harl. MS., 690, f. 99 b, col. a.* *Cotton. MS., Titus D. xv., f. 50 b.* Also a *MS. chronicle in vol. F. 9, f. 8, College of Arms. Epitome Cronicarum, Lambeth MS., 386, f. 70 b; and Chron. St. Albans, Ibid., No. 6.*

² Caxton’s *Chron.*, Lambeth MS. 401, sub anno 3 Hen. IV.

³ *Cotton. MS., Galba E. viii., f. 129 b, col. 2.*

⁴ Issue Roll, 3 Hen. IV., Easter.

to Louis, in due form, a few days after the marriage¹.

The Earl of Somerset, and most of her English attendants bade farewell to their young mistress, as soon as the nuptial feasts were concluded, and landed in England, on St. James' day, July 25th². Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom proceeded to Heidelberg, the ducal residence of the Bavarian court, where they arrived about the 20th of July, and received a cordial welcome from the Emperor Rupert. On the 22nd of July, both father and son addressed letters to Henry IV., testifying their warm approbation of the young bride, and their entire satisfaction in the marriage. The letter of Louis is translated entire as follows:—

“Most illustrious and glorious prince, and dreaded lord:

“After my humble and devoted commendations of obedience, I signify to your serenity that no sooner did I understand that the illustrious and magnificent Lady Blanche, your highness' daughter, then my betrothed bride, but now my sweetest wife, had crossed the sea with a splendid train, than I greatly rejoiced in the tidings; but when that countenance, lovely beyond the daughters of men, presented itself before me, then, indeed, my very heart exulted with joy; for not merely is her form English, but it shines with such angelic loveliness that all the nobles of the people would worship it. On which account, I, languishing beyond others at the mere description of her, have at many former times longed in my mind to behold her beauty; nor was my longing vain; since you have granted me the desire of my heart, and I am not deprived of the wish of my lips. Thus, most serene prince, I know not how fully to thank you, for so rich and rare a gift;

¹ Devon's Excerpta, p. 285. Chmel, Regesta Chronol. Diplom. Ruperti Regis Roman., p. 69.

² Hearne's Otterbourne, p. 235. Leland's Collect., vol. i., p. 485.

reserved, through Divine Providence, for me, though unworthy, and destined for me by your royal excellence; but I subject myself, and everything in my power, to your royal desires and commands. Moreover, I will treat my aforesaid most beloved spouse with all the kindness in my power, according to circumstances.

“As for the rest, my most invincible lord and father, my most serene mother, and all their family, praised be the Highest, enjoy health of body. I heartily desire to hear the same more frequently of your royal highness, and your noble house, which may the Omnipotent deign to endow with prosperous success. Given at Heidelberg, July 22nd, A.D. 1402¹.”

The raptures of the young lover and husband are readily understood, though in the present instance they seem somewhat exaggerated; for the youthful Blanche was only in her thirteenth year, while Louis was verging towards manhood. But the laudatory expressions of the imperial father, in reference to his daughter-in-law, are scarcely less strong. He writes to King Henry that, “the day so greatly longed for has at last arrived, by God’s will, in which the illustrious and magnificent Blanche, daughter to your highness and our most beloved daughter-in-law, was married to our beloved first-born son with great solemnity. But the day of our gladness principally shone forth, when that ray of wonderful beauty presented herself to our sight, whose gracefulness of manners and elegance of figure showed sufficiently, without other aid, her excellent nobility.”

The emperor then praises the abundance of precious things which the princess has brought with her, and assures the king that he and his consort had from the first hour in which they beheld her, resolved to treat Blanche as their dearest daughter².

¹ Martène, *Thes. Anecd.*, vol. i., col. 1701.

² Martène, *ut sup.*, col. 1701.

The favourable impressions produced by the Lady Blanche, at her first interview with her new relatives, were deepened by subsequent intercourse. In January 1403, the emperor again wrote to her father, assuring him that their dearest daughter, from the innate nobility of her disposition, conformed herself, in everything, so entirely to the wishes of himself and his consort, and showed herself so obliging, that they could not do otherwise than love her, with most singular affection, as though she were their own child, and heap upon her every mark of parental favour¹. One part of her behaviour that gave particular satisfaction was, that she never pleaded the claims of precedence, which, as a king's daughter, she might be supposed to possess, but always gracefully yielded the first place to her husband².

In consideration of the friendship so firmly cemented between the English and Bavarian courts, Henry IV. made an express reservation in favour of the subjects of his "dearest brother the emperor," in a general prohibition issued this year against the admission of foreigners into England³.

The court of Bavaria, at the time when the Lady Blanche became a member of it, was presided over by the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, a lady who appears to have combined genuine kindness with unpretending simplicity of manner. Two of her daughters were already married; and Elizabeth, the youngest, was the only one who remained at home to companionate her still more juvenile sister-in-law⁴.

¹ Martène, ut sup., col. 1704.

² Lansdowne MS., 160, f. 121. Blanche's conduct in this respect was afterwards cited as a precedent for Elizabeth, daughter of James I., on her marriage with the Elector Palatine.

³ Fœdera, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 39.

⁴ L'Art de Vérifier, vol. xiii. Eysenbart, cont. Chron. Hermann, Gygantes, 4^o, Lugd. Bat., 1750, p. 146.

Their usual residence was the castle of Heidelberg, which, though not then possessing all the attractions it has since derived from various improvements and additions, was still, by its commanding site and romantic position, a fitting habitation for the representative of a long line of princes. Both Rupert and Louis paid considerable attention to the improvement and decoration of their capital. In the church of the Holy Spirit, at Heidelberg, a monument records the interest taken by the Lady Blanche and her spouse in its erection. An inscription states that the choir and college were founded by Rupert and his consort, but that the completion of both was effected by Louis, Count Palatine, their son, and Blanche, his wife¹.

Little of imperial state was maintained at the Bavarian court. Rupert had never possessed an uncontested dignity, and was in fact only the emperor of a party². The exchequer, moreover, was so exhausted by the wars which Rupert had been obliged to maintain in support of his hardly-won diadem, that he was glad to borrow from his son the money he had already received towards the payment of his wife's dowry, and to obtain a promise of the remainder. In recompense for this, he transferred to Louis and the Lady Blanche, the jurisdiction and homage of several important towns, castles, and villages in his dominions, including Oppenheim, Odernheim, Ingelheim, &c., the value of which was estimated to equal the dower of the princess³.

The second instalment of Blanche's dower fell due, by agreement, at Easter, 1403. King Henry failed to discharge it at the appointed time, and, as the money had

¹ Parens D., *Historia Bavar. Palat.*, p. 216.

² He was elected in opposition to the deposed emperor, Wenceslaus of Bavaria, by three ecclesiastical electors only, countenanced by Pope Boniface IX.

³ Chmel, *Diplom. Rup. Reg. Roman.*, pp. 73-4.

been relied upon to meet the pressing wants of the emperor, the failure was a source of great disappointment both to him and his son. On the 10th of August, they sent an ambassador, Frederick de Huben, to the English court, with the following instructions, communicated to him by an imperial minister. First, to give in his credentials, and exchange the usual courtly compliments. Secondly, to inform the king of the welfare of the imperial family, and particularly of the health and good estate of the Lady Blanche, his daughter. Thirdly, to remind him of the non-payment of the 16,000 nobles at the last Easter, and entreat for its immediate discharge, as promised by his own letters, in which he expresses so much affection for the Lord Louis; and to assure him that the emperor and his son would not be thus urgent, were it not for their pressing necessities, occasioned by the Bohemian wars. The fourth article of the instructions is as follows:

“Item. When you shall have explained this with emphasis to the king, if then the King of England shall say, in reply, that he also is waging war against the French, and should think that longer delay should be given by my lord, or should suggest, on any pretext, that the payment ought to be delayed, then say thus—‘Beloved and gracious lord, my lord the King of the Romans, and my lord Duke Louis, his son and your son-in-law, charged me to intimate to your grace, that they fully relied on your grace to discharge this sum of money at this time; since, for a length of time, they have been obliged, and are even now obliged to wage great wars, at heavy expenses, against the rebellious and refractory Bohemians, as I have before explained to your grace; and they depended upon that money, and placed their especial trusts in your grace, and fully confide in you that it will be paid at this time. For if this be not done (which of your grace they cannot doubt but it will), they know that such losses and misfortunes would arise, as would be

immeasurably hurtful and pernicious to them. For if my lord the king cannot retain his stipendiary servants and troops by ready money, they will no doubt desert the army, which would be very injurious, especially to my lord Duke Louis; since then my lord the king would be compelled to pledge some fortresses of his hereditary domains; all which will be avoided, if the money be paid; and as they place full reliance on your grace, you will not suffer such a disgrace to come upon them.' ” The three following articles stipulate that, if the king propose it, the money may be paid at Dort, and thus save him the expense of conveying it to Cologne; but that should the king propose to pay at London, instead of Dort, the proposal be rejected.

The eighth and ninth articles dwell upon the efforts made by the Duke of Orleans to win over the nobles of Germany to take the part of France against England, and the steadiness with which Rupert is endeavouring, by persuasions and menaces, to prevent their joining the French party; thus adding force to the request, by showing it to be the interest of the king to preserve the friendship of the emperor¹.

Neither the eloquence of the advocate, nor the prudential arguments used by him, proved successful; and in May 1404, the period fixed for the payment of the final instalment, Rupert and Louis sent to England another messenger, Frederick de Mitra, armed with a formidable budget of letters, from the emperor and his son to King Henry, to the Earl of Somerset, to the Duke of Bedford, to the king's chancellor, and to John Knighton, one of the procurators of the marriage². Frederick de Mitra was courteously received by King Henry; but, for some time, only succeeded in procuring from him letters of apology and expressions of regret at his inability to

¹ Martène, *Collectio Amplissima*, vol. iv., cols. 123-5.

² Martène, *Thes. Anecd.*, vol. i., col. 1707.

fulfil his engagements, and these were forwarded to the imperial court¹.

The following October, Louis again wrote to King Henry in a tone of suppliant earnestness, on the subject, and this letter was accompanied by others, addressed to the nobles who had given in their names as guarantees to the marriage treaty². These latter epistles are evidently prompted by feelings bordering upon indignation. Louis reminds the nobles that the time has already more than elapsed for the payment of the dower, but that, although he and his father have written many times very seriously to the King of England, and instantly entreated him to pay the portion of the dower still remaining, yet they have not succeeded; adding that he has now commissioned Frederick de Mitra to urge the thing as much as possible, since a failure would be productive of the greatest detriment to his affairs, and requests them to use all their influence on his behalf, with an implied threat that, in case of further delay, he will be compelled, though reluctantly, to try the resources of law upon themselves, as guarantees for the payment³.

By dint of urgency, 6000 nobles were wrung from the tardy exchequer of King Henry; and in 1406, an additional instalment of 4000 was paid⁴. At length Louis grew weary of solicitations which were so little successful, and for several years his claims were suffered to fall into abeyance, probably from his reluctance to press the subject, when his so doing might prove painful to his young wife.

¹ Mitra was furnished with receipts for the 16,000 nobles so long due, and for the whole sum of 40,000, in case he should be fortunate enough to secure the completion of the payment; but they were returned to the imperial chancery, marked "non transivit," because they had been of no use. *Chmel, Regesta Diplom.*, p. 102.

² The Duke of York, the Earls of Westmoreland, Arundel, Northumberland, Somerset, Rutland, Worcester, &c.

³ Martène, *Thes. Anecd.*, vol. i., cols. 1710-2.

⁴ *Chmel, Regesta Diplom.*, Ruperti, p. 135. *Miscellaneous Exchequer Documents*, first series, No. 2015, Rolls House.

In the following year, 1407, Henry IV. became himself a suitor to the emperor and his son, for assistance in an expedition which he proposed to undertake in person against France; and he sent Mowbray the herald to present letters of solicitation to the imperial court. Rupert answered, with many expressions of cordiality, that he would cheerfully have complied with the king's request, and have aided an enterprise to which he desired all possible success, did not the still unsettled state of the empire render it impolitic and dangerous to withdraw any part of his troops for foreign service. On this account, all that remained in his power was to give ready permission to any of his subjects who desired it to join the English standards.

The reply of Duke Louis was couched in still warmer terms. He says it would have given him the greatest joy to be personally present in the English army, and to forward the enterprise to the utmost of his power, that he might in some degree acquit himself of the filial obligations by which he was bound to the king; and not only so, but that he might be cheered by the long-desired sight of his paternal countenance. He doubts not the willingness of his father to devote all his children to the English service, yet the reasons of state, already adduced, prevent this. He closes by informing the king of the health and welfare of the imperial family, and more especially of that of the Lady Blanche, his sweetest wife. This letter is dated from Heidelberg, May 28, 1407¹.

The position occupied by the young duchess, as the wife, not of a reigning prince, but of his son, was neither prominent enough nor of sufficient importance to elicit many details of her career during her married life; but what she lacked in splendour was amply compensated in the domestic happiness she enjoyed. Passionately attached

¹ Martène, *Thes. Anecd.*, vol. i., col. 1721.

to her husband, and fondly loved by him in return, treated with parental tenderness by the emperor and empress, and cherished as a sister by the princes and princesses Palatine, she entered fully into the enjoyment of conjugal and family union.

These scenes of brightness were soon destined to be overshadowed. When little more than fifteen years of age, the Duchess Blanche gave promise of approaching maternity, but her hopes were prematurely blighted by the birth of a still-born infant. This untoward circumstance, occurring at so early an age, gave a shock to her constitution from which it seems never to have recovered. Shortly after, Louis, who had held for years the rank of vicar-general of the empire, and had taken a prominent part in the political affairs of the Palatinate and the empire, went, with his young consort, to reside at Neustadt in Alsace, there to hold a separate and independent court¹. This little town is situated at the foot of a small mountain called the Hart². A picturesque variety of fruitful lands and running streams adorned the neighbourhood, and served to rendered it a very agreeable abode.

Here the Lady Blanche, raised to a position in which the influence of her individual character was more perceptible amongst those by whom she was surrounded, succeeded, by her gentle and graceful manners, in winning all hearts, both in the court and amongst the people. She was now advanced in her second pregnancy, when she was seized by a sharp attack of fever, which lasted three days, and greatly reduced her strength. After this was subdued, a lingering feverishness still preyed upon her frame, and her vigour was further impaired by fre-

¹ Cotton. MS., Vitellius E. x., f. 81. Chmel. Regesta Diplom. Ruperti, pp. 159, 170.

² Merian, *Topographia Palatinatûs Rheni et Vicin. Regim.*, f. 1645, p. 572, k. 14. This work contains a plate of Neustadt as it stood in 1645.

quent and profuse bleedings at the nose. Vigilant medical attention at length checked these symptoms, but the exhaustion that ensued was so distressing that Blanche herself felt conscious that she should be unable, in so weak a condition, to struggle through the maternal trial that was hastening on. She therefore received, with great devotion of spirit, the last rites of the church. Her presentiment proved but too true. A premature confinement, accelerated by her previous illness, came on, and, on the 22nd of May, 1409, the morning dawn witnessed the birth of a living son and heir of the imperial house, whilst the evening closed in gloom over the lifeless remains of his royal mother. An universal sadness overspread alike the court and the city, when the death of the young duchess became known. Her funeral took place on the 3rd of June; the procession was led by her bereaved consort, who was indeed a mourner in heart over her early grave. His imperial parents and brothers, and numbers of the princes and magnates of the court, as well as many ladies, hastened to pay a tribute of respect to the Lady Blanche, by attending the last melancholy rites. She was interred in the church of St. Mary, amidst the lamentations of all present.

For some time the widowed Louis was inconsolable. He relinquished into his father's hands the government of Alsace, and at once abandoned a residence so painfully associated with recollections of the past¹. But one tie still remained to bind him to existence;—the infant boy whom his beloved Blanche had left to him; and the idea that in her child he had a representative of his departed consort, roused him to exertion. One of his first acts was to write to King Henry IV. a long and detailed account of the circumstances of her death. From

¹ Chmel., Regest. Diplom. Ruperti, pp. 172-3.

his letter, and one from the Emperor Rupert, sent at the same time, the preceding particulars are extracted¹. The expressions used by the bereaved husband, are touchingly pathetic. He declares that it is not without shedding torrents of tears that he can detail the fatal event which, envious of his prosperity, has deprived him of all his comfort, cut off his joy, and cruelly despoiled him of his heart's most precious treasure. He affirms that, through the whole of her stainless life, his lost wife had never failed in her obedience to God, and in ministering with studious affection to his conjugal comfort, ever showing herself marvellously charitable and affable to all; "wherefore," he adds, "it is to be fully hoped, that a pitying and pitiful Lord has received her innocent youth into the eternal mansions. But the same avenging Lord, who has bestowed mercy on her, has inflicted judgment on me, and visited me, as my sins deserved, with dire chastisement, for, at her departure, the delight and joy of my life have departed too. Alas, alas! nothing, save jealous death, the foe of all that is lovely, could have brought about this

¹ Both these documents, preserved in the Cottonian MS., Vitellius E. x., ff. 80 b, 81 b, have suffered considerably from the fire. The letter of Louis is given in Appendix, No. viii. It is singular that these letters, taken in conjunction with one already referred to, printed in Martène, which speaks of Blanche as being alive in the year 1407, afford almost the only authentic rectification of a general mistake in reference to the date of Blanche's death, which is placed by most of the German chroniclers in 1406. Trithemius alone, in his chronicle edited by Spanheim, fol., Frankfort, 1601, vol. ii., p. 343, gives the year 1409 as that of the death of Blanche, but he slightly mistakes the day, stating it as the 21st of May instead of the 22nd. The date, 1406, is incompatible with probability, since it would have involved a still more precocious maternity had the duchess died at her second confinement before she was fifteen years old. But this is the date given in Oefellius, *Rerum Boicarum Scriptores*, vol. i., pp. 535, 608; vol. ii., p. 377. Schanattus, *Hist. de la Maison Palatine*, pp. 25, 26, 28. Sandford and several of our genealogical writers mention Blanche as surviving her husband and married again, first to the King of Aragon and then to the Duke of Bar;—assertions entirely without foundation, and contradicted by contemporary records, but proving how little has hitherto been done to elucidate the history of the English princesses.

terrible separation. But," he reverently adds, "since such was the pleasure of the King and Lord of rulers, with whom is no respect of persons, it behoves me not to murmur more."

The death of his daughter, the first child he had lost, at the early age of sixteen, was an unexpected blow to King Henry. He had but a few weeks before, raised her to the dignity of a lady companion of the order of the garter, and the gorgeous robes he sent her on that occasion had scarcely been worn, when they were exchanged for the funereal shroud¹.

The infant child of Louis and Blanche was named Rupert, after his grandfather, who regarded him with fond affection as his future heir. He grew up a beautiful and promising youth, but only lived to the age of nineteen. He died suddenly, about Easter, 1426.

Louis survived his wife more than thirty years. In 1410, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the electorate, but failed in his efforts to obtain the imperial dignity². From his early youth, Louis was noted for his

¹ Nicolas' Knightage, p. 493, mentions the election of the "Duchess of Bavaria" in conjunction with that of the Queen of Denmark, the younger daughter of Henry IV. As the ladies companions of the order were almost exclusively members of the royal family of England, there can be no doubt that Blanche was the "Duchess of Bavaria" here alluded to, although Sir Harris Nicolas, presuming the death of Blanche to have taken place in 1406, supposes her mother-in-law to be the lady thus honoured. But the wife of the Emperor Rupert would have been named as empress rather than as "Duchess of Bavaria." The title of Duke of Bavaria was that by which Louis was distinguished during his father's life-time.

² He afterwards gave his support to the Emperor Sigismund, in opposition to the party of the Marquis of Moravia. As the latter had pre-occupied the church of Frankfort, the usual place of election of an emperor, Louis and the Archbishop of Treves adjourned to the churchyard, where they formally elected Sigismund. This odd proceeding gave rise to a popular jeu d'esprit :

Zu Franckfort, hinter'm Kor

Haben gwelt einen Kunig ain kind und ain Tor,

alluding to the juvenility of Louis and the dotage of the archbishop. Joan. Staindel, Chron. ad an. 1502.

attachment to the priestly orders. In 1415, he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and bore arms against the infidels. These acts of piety, combined with the zeal with which, in the absence of the Emperor Sigismund, he presided at the celebrated council of Constance, and aided in executing the decrees against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, procured for him the epithet of "the pious¹." That of "barbatus," or "the bearded," by which he is more generally known, was owing to the long beard he cultivated when on his Eastern journey. The antipope John XXIII., after his deposition, was confided to the care of the Elector Louis, in whose custody he remained for three years, after which he was released on ransom, and made his peace with Pope Martin V².

Louis was a lover and patron of literature; and as late as the year 1431, when in the decline of life, he applied himself to the study of the Latin language, having heard the Emperor Sigismund express his regret, at one of the councils, that not a single prince of the empire could enter fully into the merits of a cause brought before them, because not one understood Latin³. He married, for his second wife, Matilda, daughter of Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, by whom he had a large family⁴. The infirmities of old age came upon him prematurely. He became blind and lame, in consequence of an illness that overtook him on his voyage homeward from Jerusalem⁵, and

¹ Ebran de Wildenberg, Chron. Bas., Oefellius, ut sup., vol. i., p. 313.

² Annales Novienses, Martène, Collect. Ampliss., vol. iv., col. 597. Oefellius, vol. i., p. 369.

³ Harl. Miscell., vol. iii., p. 73. Parens D., Historia Bavar. Palat., p. 215.

⁴ Their marriage contract, dated 1414, is printed in Hist. et Comment. Acad. Theod. Palat., vol. vi., p. 363, from the original in the Vatican.

⁵ Ladislaus, Sunthemius Fam. Pal. Com. Rheni., Oefellius, vol. ii., p. 577.

Matilda, a woman of much energy and ability, taking advantage of his inefficiency, possessed herself of the reins of government, which she retained during the remainder of his life.

Although the death of the Princess Blanche seemed at first likely to shake the alliance between the electoral house and King Henry IV., yet when Louis succeeded to the government, he ever maintained friendly relationships with England. Henry IV. died without being able to discharge his engagements in reference to his daughter's dowry¹. His successor, Henry V., met all outstanding demands on the part of Louis with full satisfaction, and was compensated by the assistance of the elector in his wars against the French². In the reign of the young king Henry VI., his uncles, who acted as regents, retained the same friendly connexion with Louis³. They presented him with an ouch of gold, studded with gems, which was among the jewels taken at the battle of Agincourt⁴; and as late as 1435, the year before the death of Louis, we find orders issued for the payment of an annuity from his English relatives. He died on the 29th of December, in the following year, 1436⁵.

In the solitude of a blind old age, when his second wife usurped his authority, and deposed and degraded him;—

“When the future was all dark,
The past a troubled sea,
And memory sat in the heart,
Wailing where hope should be;—”

¹ Several additional sums were paid, however—1000 marks in February, 1412. *Devon's Excerpta*, p. 318.—3000 nobles in 1416. *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 2, p. 170.

² Oefellius, vol. i., pp. 369, 530.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 4, p. 129.

⁴ Nicolas' Acts Privy Council, vol. iii., p. 22.

⁵ Oefellius, vol. ii., p. 337.

then we may imagine that the aged elector looked back, with many a lingering feeling of regret, upon the few bright years of his early life, which he had passed in the companionship of his young and beautiful wife, the Princess Blanche of England.

PHILIPPA,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF HENRY IV.

CHAPTER XI.

Birth—Early years passed with her sister Blanche—Absence of Henry IV. in Wales—Philippa sent to Berkhamstead Castle—Return of the king—Joanna of Navarre and her children arrive in England—Margaret of Denmark—Regent for her son Olaus—Death of Olaus—Margaret retains the regency—Defeats Albert of Sweden—Adopts her nephew, Prince Eric—Proposed marriage of Philippa with Eric, and of Eric's sister with the Prince of Wales—Conclave at Berkhamstead—Philippa appoints procurators—They go to Denmark to complete arrangements—Their unfavourable report of Swedish affairs—Return of procurators—Urgent letters of Eric—Henry favours the marriage—Evades that proposed for the Prince of Wales—Peter Luck sent over by Eric—Conclusion of arrangements—Title of Queen of Denmark given to Philippa—Her household and stud—Friendship with Queen Joanna—Embassy to seek transmission of Philippa—Entertained by Joanna—Preparation for Philippa's voyage—Her vessel and fleet—Equipment—She visits Kenilworth, Eltham, &c.—Requiem for her mother—Goes to Berkeley, Newark, &c.—Sets sail from Lynn—Her escort—Lands at Elsingborg—Met by Queen Margaret and Eric—Marriage and coronation at Lund—Accounts given by chroniclers—Interest felt by Margaret in Queen Philippa—Visit to the monastery at Wadstena—Departure of English attendants—Visit of Philippa to Stockholm—Her establishment—Resides at Copenhagen or Lund—Fire at Stockholm—Quarrel between Eric and his aunt—Death of Margaret,—Judicious exercise of influence by Philippa—Eric's injustice towards Sweden—His inefficiency—False report of the queen's separation from her husband—Occasional residence at the monastery of Wadstena—Deputation sent to form one of a similar order in England—Order of the Garter conferred on Philippa—Amicable relations with England—Eric's religious benefaction—Adoption of his cousin Bugislaus—Wars—Exchange of the queen's jointure lands—She is appointed regent in case of Eric's death—Domestic unhappiness—Eric's rage against a papal messenger—Daily mass for the king and queen at Wadstena—Papal mandate concerning monasteries—Inter-

cession of the king and queen sought by the inmates of Wadstena—Philippa regent during Eric's pilgrimage to the Holy Land—Eric visits Hungary and Poland—Travels in disguise to Jerusalem—Escapes discovery by the sultan—Wise rule of Philippa—Rectification of the coinage—Prohibition of unlawful trading in Bergen—Return of Eric—Synod at Copenhagen—Ecclesiastical statutes—Contests with the Holsteiners—Their treachery—Attack upon Copenhagen—Defence headed by Philippa—Defeat of the enemy—Easter festival—Reconciliation between rival citizens—Fruitless negotiation with Holstein—Renewed hostilities—Fleet sent by the queen against Stralsund—Defeated—Grief of Philippa—Loss of Danish vessels with the treasure—Wrath of Eric—Harsh treatment of his wife—Her premature confinement—Child still-born—Grief of Philippa—She retires to Wadstena—Dies—Repentance of Eric—Philippa's funeral—Monument—Review of her married life—Grief of her subjects—Subsequent ill conduct and misfortunes of Eric—His deposition—and death.

THE younger daughter of Henry Earl of Derby and Mary de Bohun was born in the year 1393, very shortly before the decease of her mother. The first nine years of her life were spent in constant association with her elder sister, Blanche. The details given in the memoir of that princess, contain, therefore, all that remains on record of the Lady Philippa, until the year 1402, when her sister quitted England.

Within a few weeks after she had been called to part from this beloved companion of her childhood, the Princess Philippa was also separated from her father, for some time. The king went into Wales on his expedition against Owen Glendower; but before his departure he removed his daughter and her younger brother John to the castle of Berkampstead, committing them to the charge of Sir Hugh de Waterton, with strict injunctions to the knight to remain constantly with the prince and princess; and to them, to receive and obey Waterton as their governor; also to the king's lieges, residing in the castle, to submit to the said Sir Hugh and his ordinances, in all things¹.

The companions of the royal children at Berkhamstead,

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 32.

were the young Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and his brother, who, notwithstanding the expressions of affection lavished on them by King Henry, as his "dearest cousins," were the objects of his ceaseless jealousy; well was the king aware that the glittering diadem which encircled his own brow belonged of right to the elder of these young nobles, whose father, Roger Mortimer, had been formally recognized, in the time of Richard II., as heir presumptive to the childless king. Their residence with his children answered the purpose of keeping them in safe charge, as well as providing for their accommodation.

In a few months, King Henry returned triumphant from his Welsh campaign, and an invasion on the side of Scotland was quelled; tranquillity being thus restored, the court were at leisure to make preparations for the reception of Joanna of Navarre, the betrothed queen of Henry IV., who arrived in England early in 1403. The duchess-queen brought with her two little daughters, Blanche and Margaret, her children by her former husband John, Duke of Bretagne¹, both younger than Philippa², and who would, doubtless, be welcome companions to the motherless and sisterless child.

Before their arrival a negotiation had commenced, which was still in progress, and which eventually separated Philippa from her family, and banished her to a region far distant and little known, a region but recently raised to dignity and importance, by the talents of one of the most remarkable women of whom history bears record.

Margaret of Denmark, usually designated by the appropriate title of the "Semiramis of the North³," was the younger daughter of Waldemar III., King of Denmark, and

¹ See page 294, *supra*.

² Strickland's *Queens*, vol. ii., p. 77.

³ "A woman," says Bernizius, *Florus Danicus*, folio. Copenh. 1709, p. 556, "too sparingly praised by the age; yet, however envy may gainsay her, to be extolled above all heroines and the fables of the

married to Haquin, King of Norway and Sweden, by whom she had one son, Olaus. Such was her ingenuity, and such the vigour of her genius, that, on the death of her father, without male heir, she prevailed with the Danes to elect her son Olaus, in despite of the claims of her elder sister, Ingeburga, the wife of Henry, Prince of Mecklenburgh, of the blood royal of Sweden¹. One reason for their preference of Olaus was, that they looked forward, through him, as heir of the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden, to the union of the three crowns. The Swedes and Norwegians had violently opposed the marriage of their monarch with a Danish princess², and the majority of the former nation refused to recognize King Haquin or his son Olaus, on this account, and elected in their stead, Albert, Prince of Mecklenburgh, nephew of their late king, Magnus. But the Norwegians remained faithful to Haquin, during his life, and were so won over by the tact and ability of Queen Margaret, that, on her husband's death, they admitted her to fill the important post of regent during the minority of her son³.

This princely youth, in whom were centred so many

Amazons. Rouse thyself, history ; glance over womankind ; consider the people and ages of all times ; against thy so many ages we bring forward one woman, and from this one woman were counsels as happily issued in the palace as arms were waged in the field ; we bring forward the twofold fortune which in its peaceful garb she cultivated, and when armed, subdued ; and representing the majesty of supreme empire, not so much in her gown as in her mind, she filled the world with wonder and Denmark with felicity." See also Albert Kranzius, *Rer. Germ. Hist.*, folio, Frankf., 1583, p. 176. Pontanus says in reference to her, "The Assyrians may boast their Semiramis, the Britains their Boadicea, the Goths their Amalucantha, the English their Elizabeth, and others their own heroines, but Denmark has one worthy of comparing with any of these—MARGARET." Her father, King Waldemar, used to remark that nature had made a mistake in creating Margaret a woman rather than a man. Joan. Loccen., *Hist. Succ.*, p. 119.

¹ Torfæus, *Rer. Norweg. Hist.*, fol., Haff., 1711, vol. iv., p. 511. Kranzius, *Rer. Germ. Hist.*, p. 176. Molbeck, *Danske Rymkronicke*, 8vo., Kiob., 1825, p. 238.

² Delic. *Regn. Suec. et Goth.*, vol. iii., p. 77.

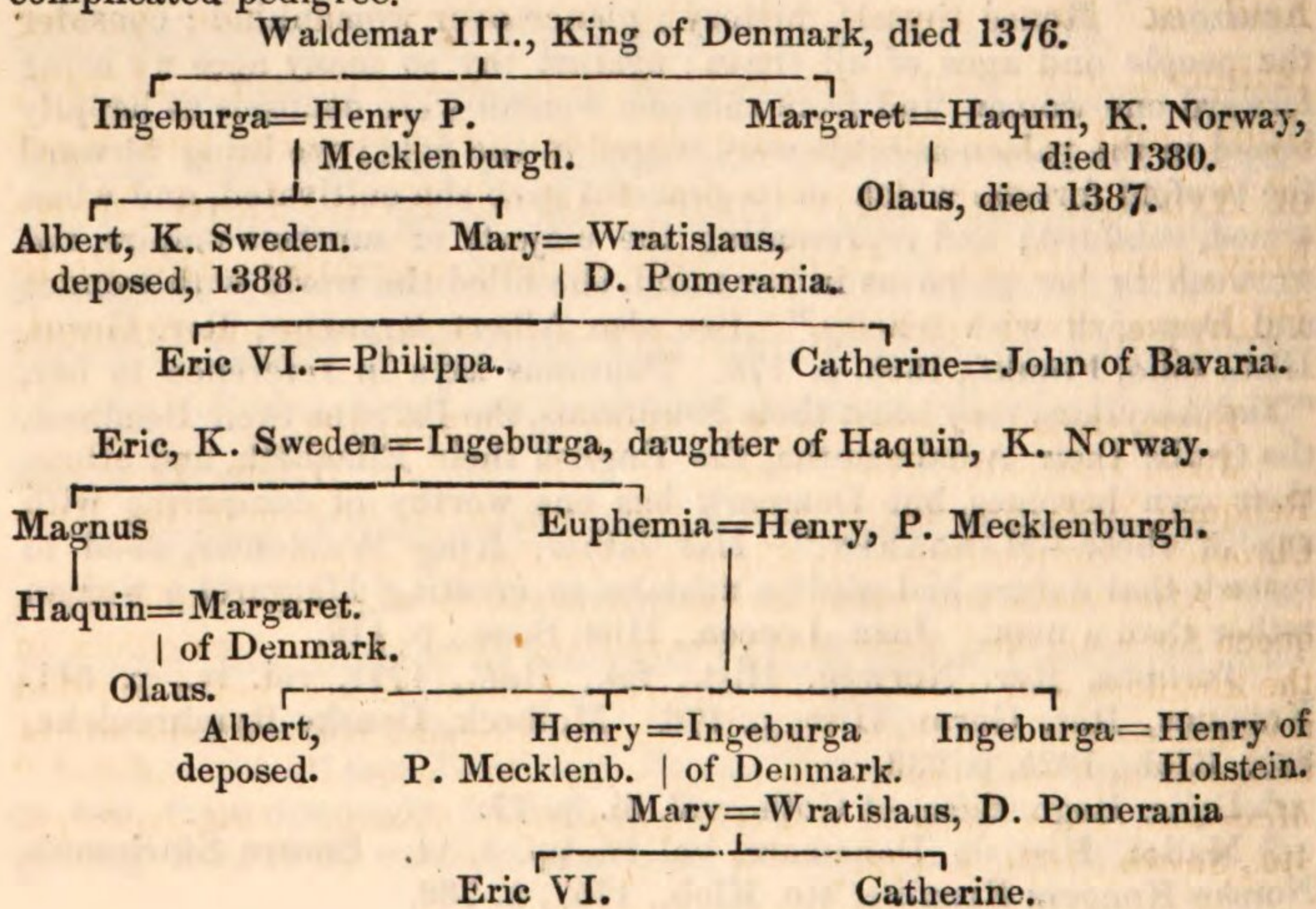
³ Mallet, *Hist. de Danemarck*, vol. iv., pp. 5, 14. Snorro Sturleson's *Norske Kongers Kronike*, 4to. Kiob., 1757, p. 788.

hopes, died in 1387, at the early age of twenty-two. Queen Margaret still retained the regency of Norway, and not only so, but carrying out still farther her schemes of ambitious and unscrupulous policy, she attacked and defeated Albert, King of Sweden¹, who was very unpopular with his subjects, and secured her own election to that crown also; with the stipulation that she should adopt as her heir, her great nephew, Prince Eric Pomeranus, son of Wratislaus, Duke of Pomerania, who, on the death of the deposed King Albert without issue, was rightful successor through his father to the crowns of Norway and Sweden, as well as to that of Denmark² in virtue of his descent from Margaret's elder sister, Ingeburga³.

¹ Albert professed the greatest contempt for his female opponent, he called her the "roi sans culottes," and sent her a large whetstone on which to sharpen her needles and scissors; but he had speedily to change his opinion. To preserve the memory of this incident, Queen Margaret had the whetstone chained to a pillar in the church of Roskild. *Mallet*, vol. iv., p. 17. *Ludewigius*, *Reliq. MSS.*, vol. i., p. 113.

² Eric is frequently called Eric XI., or Eric XIII., but in truth he was the sixth of the name in Sweden, the seventh in Denmark, and the third in Norway. *Kiøbenhavn. Efterretninger*, 8mo., Kiøb. 1777, p. 46.

³ Langebek, *Hist. Dan. Scriptores*, vol. ii., p. 536. The following slight genealogical sketches will perhaps better elucidate this somewhat complicated pedigree.



This youth the childless Margaret adopted to supply the place of her lost son, and ever afterwards treated him with the greatest affection; straining every nerve to promote his interests, and to procure him a position more splendid than his abilities enabled him to maintain; for unhappily her *protégé* was, in many respects, the opposite of herself. In 1397, when Eric had attained the age of fourteen years¹, Margaret summoned the states of the three kingdoms to Calmar, and there had the satisfaction of seeing her adopted son crowned as sovereign of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which were now united under one head, though each maintained its separate government².

As young Eric rose to manhood, Margaret's next care was to provide him a suitable consort, and her attention was directed to the English court³. She set on foot a negotiation for a double marriage; that of Eric with the Princess Philippa of England, and of Catherine, Eric's sister, with Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. Her propositions were readily listened to by King Henry IV. On the 14th of May, 1402, a conclave was held at Berkhamstead, the residence of the young princess, consisting of her father, her brothers Henry, John, and Humphrey, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Kent, Lord Mowbray, and others. Before this grave assembly, the little Philippa, then scarcely nine years of age, was summoned,

¹ Bugenhagius, *Pomerania*, 4to., Gryph., 1728, p. 159.

² Joan. Loccenius, *Hist. Suec.*, p. 118. *Chron. Daniæ*, Ludewig. *Reliquiæ MSS.*, vol. ix., p. 120. Hadorph, in his *Edition of the Rym Chronick*, Andren Delen., p. 63, prints the deed of union.

³ "Afterwards the queen-dowager considered where she could find a queen for him; and again she gathered together all her councillors in the kingdom, and in this mind enquired of them where they could find a virgin, and said to them likewise, that in England certainly she would be found, and gave them such reasons that they were all well satisfied." *Messenius, Then. Gambla Och Wydlyftige Rym. Kronik. Edit. Hadorph*, 4to., *Stockh.*, 1674, p. 172.

and, in presence of Dionysius de Lotham, the notary sent from Sweden, was made to signify her good pleasure to be united in marriage to Eric, King of Sweden; which the notary declares she did *willingly*, as it seemed to him and all the other witnesses present. The child then proceeded to appoint procurators to go on her behalf to Sweden, to contract the alliance with the most excellent prince, Eric, King of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The persons selected were Sir William Bouchier, knight of the chamber to the Prince of Wales; Master Richard Dereham, professor of theology at Cambridge, and one of the king's chaplains; and John Perraunt, serjeant-at-arms; to whom the Bishop of Bangor was afterwards added, in order to give greater dignity to the commission.

The letters of procuration were formally drawn up, and Philippa declared her wish that the whole transactions should be published and made known by the Swedish notary; but a difficulty occurred in their attestation, because the princess did not possess a seal. It was obviated by the Bishop of Lincoln, who, "at the personal and especial entreaty of the said noble and excellent Lady Philippa," lent her his seal, which was accordingly affixed to the document in question¹; and the little lady, having acted her part to admiration, was dismissed to her nursery, with a vague consciousness of having become a person of consequence, but with little idea of the bearing of the recent ceremony upon the destinies of her future existence.

On the 16th of June, the ambassadors received their instructions, in reference to the marriage of Philippa with Eric, and of her brother Henry with the Princess Catherine of Sweden; the principal of which were that each of the royal brides was to be conveyed to her new abode, at the expense of her own relatives, before the

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, pp. 28-9.

month of May in the following year¹. Credentials were delivered to the ambassadors, whereby they were empowered to contract the two marriages, and to arrange the amounts and times of payment of the wedding portions, and also the jointure of each of the two princesses. They were, moreover, to bind over Eric and his sister not to draw back from the contract, if once fairly completed².

On the arrival of the ambassadors in the North, Eric, in their presence, formally acknowledged "Philippa, the dear and lovely second daughter of the King of England, in the most binding manner possible, to be his only wedded and legitimate companion and wife;" and on the other hand, the English procurators, "as in person of the said Lady Philippa, and acting in her stead, acknowledged the aforesaid king as her lawful lord and husband³."

After the English ambassadors had resided some time at the Danish court, in the prosecution of their business, certain disturbances, occasioned by the struggles of disaffected parties, who were reluctant to submit to the rule of King Eric, caused them to form a somewhat unfavourable opinion of the state of the kingdoms, and they sent a discouraging report to the privy council. On this the king summoned two of their number, Bouchier and Dereham, to return home, that he might learn more fully from their own lips, the state of affairs in reference to his daughter's future prospects⁴; when they arrived, they confirmed, in presence of the council, their former unpleasing report; the result of which was, that letters were sent to King Eric, tending towards a disruption of the

¹ Cotton. MS., Nero B. iii., f. 16.

² *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 31.

³ This document is not printed in the *Fœdera*. It is to be found in the Cotton. MS., Nero B. iii., f. 17, but without date, and somewhat defaced.

⁴ Cotton. MS., ut. sup., f. 21.

marriage treaty, and the remaining ambassadors, the Bishop of Bangor and John Perraunt, were recalled¹. They reached England in the month of April, 1403, and waited upon the king at Windsor, on his return from a meeting of the privy council, in which it had been determined to forward letters still more cool to King Eric. But by the hands of these ambassadors, Eric transmitted to King Henry remonstrances so earnest on the subject of the marriage, quoting the king's own letters, in which he had formerly represented it as "greatly desired both by the nobles and people of England," that Henry was induced to change his tone. He wrote to the council, sending them a copy of the Swedish king's letter, and entreating them to reconsider the matter; expressing at the same time his strong opinion, that if the letter previously dictated by them were sent to Eric, it would issue in an entire breach of the marriage treaty: he therefore sent for their consideration a draft of such a letter as he now thought it advisable to dispatch².

The ultimate decision of the council on this knotty point does not remain on record; they probably complied with the king's requests, since the marriage treaty was never broken off, although allowed to fall into abeyance for awhile. This resulted partly from the juvenility of the parties concerned, and partly from the king's entertaining more ambitious views for his son and heir, than the union with a Swedish princess. This part of the

¹ Entries for the payment of their expenses occur in the Issue Roll, 3 Hen. IV., Easter, in Devon's printed Pipe Rolls, pp. 295, 311, and in his Introduction to the Brantingham Roll. In these and several other business entries made by the inferior clerks, Eric and Catherine are spoken of as the son and daughter of Queen Margaret, or rather of Queen Isabella, as she was often miscalled. The whole course of the negotiation develops incidents that prove how very little was previously known in England of the northern courts.

² This letter is printed in Appendix No. viii. It is curious, as showing the subservient manner in which this *elected* king addressed those who had helped to place him on his unsteady throne.

agreement he tried to evade, without relinquishing the proposed marriage of his daughter, and at length succeeded, though not without difficulty.

In 1404, a Swedish commissioner, Master Peter Luck, Archdeacon of Roskild, made his appearance at the English court, and addressed himself on the subject of the Princess Philippa's marriage, to the king her father, who referred him to the privy council. They still seemed disposed to stand aloof, and wrote in reply to King Eric's application, that "touching the marriage of my Lady Philippa, how the ambassador of Denmark should be answered, an' it please the king, this matter may be left in suspense, till the feast of St. Michael or thereabouts; and this for certain causes and pretences, which may be communed about with the said ambassador¹."

So complaisant was luck in adjusting matters according to the wishes of King Henry and his council, that he was currently reported to be bribed by the promise of an annual pension. This idea became so prevalent that the king thought proper to give it a formal and public refutation, and to declare that "in all the aforesaid affairs, Master Peter had acted with a due regard to his state, fame, dignity, and honesty, free from all stain of corruption, and that he deserved to be highly extolled and commended for his diligence, by all that were capable of sound judgment²."

As the result of his dexterous management, the marriage treaty was formally drawn out³; and thereupon King Eric, becoming urgent for the completion of the

¹ Nicolas' Privy Council, vol. i., p. 222. The historian, Walsingham, formed an acquaintance with this ambassador, and exchanged with him some literary information about the life of St. Alban. *Hist. Angliæ*, p. 417.

² *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 92.

³ The very moderate bill of 5 marks was paid to Master Henry Wan, doctor of laws, for drawing up this royal marriage contract and other public instruments! *Issue Roll*, 7 *Hen. IV.*, *Mich.*

union¹, wrote to King Henry IV., on November 18th, 1405, requesting that his bride might be sent over to him, without fail, the following May².

In the meantime the Princess Philippa had been invested with the title of Queen of Denmark, and was treated in her father's court with all the homage due to a crowned head. Her suite of attendants included master of the horse, treasurer of the household, master and pages of the chariot, and other officials, only employed in the service of royalty. To horse exercise, Philippa appears to have entertained a decided partiality, if we may judge by the number of horses, bridles, bits, saddles, and other apparatus purchased for her. Sometimes her father made free use of her stable, and borrowed horses from the stud for his own purposes³. Her chariots were provided at considerable expense, and her master of the chariot had ample supplies of mattresses, velvet cushions, carpets, chains, and other articles for her use⁴.

With her step-mother, Queen Joanna, the princess seems to have lived on excellent terms, and the queen interested herself much in the future prospects of Philippa. In the autumn of 1405, a splendid embassy arrived from Denmark, to demand the transmission of the princess, under their charge, in the following spring. It was headed by Thuro Benedicti Bielke, a privy councillor and marshal of Sweden, a man of noble birth, handsome and eloquent, who was appointed as the representative of

¹ Cotton. MS., ut sup., f. 25.

² Ibid., f. 27.

³ Issue Roll, 4 Hen. IV., Mich. Accounts of the master of the horse of the Lady Philippa, 2—8 Hen. IV., Nos. 1531 and 1493, Queen's Rememb.

⁴ Acct. valet of chariot of Lady Philippa, 6 Hen. IV., No. 692, and of the master of horse, No. 1493, ut sup., Queen's Rememb. The Issue Roll, 4 Hen. IV., contains the following entry:—"To Wm. Loveney, clerk of the king's great wardrobe, in money paid at different times; viz., by the hands of Thomas Kent, painter, receiving the money from Wm. Wexcomb, clerk, for painting a certain chariot ordered for the Lady Philippa, daughter of the king, 5*l.*; and in money received by the hands of John Gadyer, goldsmith, from the aforesaid

King Eric, to betroth the princess¹. The queen presented this principal ambassador with a golden cloth of Cyprus; and to the three inferior ones, to twenty squires, to five clerks and ten valets who accompanied them, she gave presents of scarlet and green cloth or kersimere².

Whilst the queen was entertaining the Danish ambassadors, King Henry busied himself in providing for his daughter's transmission to her future spouse. He wrote to his privy council on the 28th of April, 1406, to request that as his dearest daughter Philippa, Queen of Denmark, ought, according to agreement, to be sent to Denmark in the course of the ensuing month, they would immediately make arrangements for her departure, that it might be accomplished as speedily as possible³.

The vessel appointed to convey the princess was one of the largest in the royal navy; it was provided with two guns, forty pounds of powder, forty stones or balls for the guns, forty tampons, four torches, one mallet, two fire-pans, twenty-four bows, and forty sheaves of arrows;—a warlike apparatus, whose diminutiveness excites a smile in the present day,—but, at the period in question, it must be remembered that the crew of the largest ship of war consisted only of forty men, and twenty men sufficed for those of smaller dimensions⁴. Two pipes of Malmsey

Wm., for making certain pommels for the chariot, 10*l.*; by virtue of his office, 15*l.*" *Devon's Excerpta*, p. 296. Another wardrobe fragment records the repair of a couch and a chair for her.

¹ Fant's *Scriptores*, vol. i., pp. 47, 96. Messenius, *Scand. Illust.*, vol. xii., p. 218. Ericus Olaus, *Chron. Fant Rerum Suecicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii., p. 123. Ludewig, *Reliq. MSS.*, vol. ix., pp. 89-90.

² Ward. Acct. Queen Joanna, 6 Hen. IV., Queen's Rememb. The ambassadors were lodged in the household of one John Scrivener, in Fleet-street, who received 35*8l.* 16*s.* 11½*d.* for their support. *Ward. and Household Acct.*, 7—8 Hen. IV.

³ Nicolas' Privy Council, vol. i., p. 290.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 100. Ellis' *Historical Letters*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 67.

wine for the table of Philippa, and thirty casks of beer for her attendants, were conveyed on board¹.

A serjeant-at-arms was appointed to seize, in the ports of London and Lynn, and on the coasts of the sea in the county of Norfolk, ten ships and four barges, with as many masters and mariners as would suffice for their governance, "for the passage and safe conduct of the Queen of Denmark, and of the lords, and ladies, knights, clerks, esquires, valets, and other attendants" accompanying her abroad². Nicholas Blackburn, the admiral of the north seas, was commissioned by the king and council to escort the queen, and to protect the seas during her passage³.

For Philippa's bridal robes, recourse was had to the stores of "Richard Whittington, citizen and mercer of London," who, at the cost of 248*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, provided her with a superb dress of cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls of great value⁴. Her plate of silver and silver-gilt was estimated at 316*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*⁵, and the bills of her furrier, painter, cloth-merchant, &c., amounted to 1366*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*⁶.

In a wardrobe account of this period⁷, a few slight notices occur of the movements of the young Philippa, previously to her leaving England. In October and November 1405, she was at Kenilworth, where, with the king and queen, and two of her brothers, she attended high mass, on All Saints' day⁸. The Christmas of that year was spent by the royal family at Eltham.

¹ Wardrobe and Household Acct., 7—8 Hen. IV., Harl. MS. 319, f. 43. Devon's Excerpta, p. 304.

² *Fœdera*, ut sup., pp. 99. 100.

³ Devon's Pipe Rolls, p. 309. The expenses of her passage were paid by Henry IV. *Pell Roll*, 7 Hen. IV., Easter.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁶ Issue Roll, 7 Hen. IV., Easter.

⁷ Harl. MS., 319, f. 39, et seq., *Elæmosina*.

⁸ The offerings presented by Philippa at the religious services were always equal in amount to those of the queen. At the feast of the purification of the Virgin, the king and queen and the Queen of Denmark each gave pieces of gold to be fixed into their wax tapers.

This residence, a favourite retreat of Henry IV., was at that period a spacious and well-fortified abode. The remaining barn-like ruins of the ancient dining-hall give but a faint idea of Eltham palace in its former splendour, "when princes sat where nettles grow;" and when its broad moat and embattled curtained walls encompassed a building containing forty-six spacious apartments, besides numerous offices, ranged round quadrangular courts; whilst its windows commanded a view over Greenwich Park and the spire of old St. Paul's, to the distant towers of Westminster Abbey, backed by the Highgate hills¹.

Philippa remained at Eltham with the king and queen, until the 6th of January, 1406, when they removed to London, and resided at the Tower, or at Westminster, with the exception of occasional visits to Waltham, Hereford, Kingston, Windsor, &c., till May the 1st. They then removed to the episcopal residence of the Bishop of Durham, and, on Whit-Sunday, the king and queen, the Queen of Denmark, Henry, Prince of Wales, and two other of the young princes, were present at the celebration of mass in the chapel connected with the bishop's house². Philippa remained several weeks in this mansion, and on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the death of her mother, the Countess of Derby, attended a special requiem service which she ordered to be performed to her memory.

Towards the close of the month, the princess, attended by her parents, set out on her journey towards Norfolk. On the 20th of July we find them at Berkeley, the 21st, at Newark, thence they went to St. Edmundsbury³, and on to Thetford. There Philippa stayed, whilst the king

¹ Buckler's *Eltham*, 8vo., Lond., 1828, p. 34. *Relics of Antiquity*, 4to., Lond., 1811, p. 41.

² Harl. MS. 319, f. 39 b.

³ On the 24th of July, at St. Edmundsbury, the princess offered at a mass performed in her presence.

and queen made a short tour by Wymondham, Norwich, and Walsingham, to Lynn. She rejoined them there, and they remained in that town some days, waiting for a favourable breeze to waft the vessels that were to convey Philippa from her native shore¹.

At length, on the 11th of August, the last farewells were taken; and melancholy they must have been, for the remoteness of the region that was to be Philippa's home would preclude any feasible hopes of future interviews. Her father's parting present was a costly almsdish, in the form of a ship, silver-gilt, with a leopard at each end, standing upon a high pedestal. From the other members of her family she received presents of silver cups².

The guardians appointed by the king to attend his daughter were Henry, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Richard, the younger brother of Edward, Duke of York³, Sir Henry Fitz-Hugh and Sir Henry le Scrope. Their duty was not only to escort her to her destination, and be present at her marriage, but to negotiate the arrange-

¹ Ward. Acct., ut sup., ff. 26-28 b. Walsingham, Ypodigma, p. 417.

² Ward. and Househ. Acct., 7-8 Hen. IV.

³ Afterwards Earl of Cambridge and grandfather of Edward IV. In reference to this nobleman, King Henry addressed the following curious missive to his privy council:—

“By the king,

“Most reverend and our very dear and faithful fathers in God. As we have ordained our dearest cousin, Richard of York, to accompany our dearest and most beloved daughter Philippa, Queen of Denmark, toward those same parts, we, considering his poor estate, and that he will not be able to undertake to perform this said voyage without some suitable token from us, over and above the wages that he will receive from us on the same account; we will and pray you, therefore, that, having held communication hereupon with our said cousin, you will well consider the premises, and certify to us hastily, by your letters, what token will be suitable to grant to him for the aforesaid cause, both for our honour and his; so that, this grant made and recorded, our said cousin may apparel himself for the aforesaid voyage. And this omit not to do. Given under our signet, at our castle at Hertford, the 8th day of July.” Nicolas' Acts Privy Council, from Cotton. MS., Vesp. F. xiii., f. 14.

ments for her dower-lands, and to conclude a treaty of alliance between England and Denmark¹. It is a novelty in the history of royal marriages, to find the lady wooed and wedded, before any settlement was made upon her by her future lord, and is the more remarkable, since the bride carried with her a handsome portion. It can only be accounted for, on the ground that Henry IV., who was looked down upon, as an elective rather than an hereditary monarch, by many of the ancestral potentates of Europe, was glad to secure a crown for his daughter, and a firm ally for himself, without insisting on stipulations for minor advantages.

Among the inferior attendants of the princess were her former treasurer of the household, William de Soveney, who still retained his office, John Perrault, serjeant-at-arms, one of the recent commissioners for the marriage², whose knowledge of the country and of the language rendered his services valuable³, and Henry Norreys, one of the king's valets-de-chambre⁴. Sir Edmund Courtenay, with several others of the nobility and gentry, besides those appointed by the king, attended upon Philippa, and she was also escorted by Thuro Bielke, and the other members of the Danish embassy. She set sail in August, and after a long voyage landed, in the beginning of October, at the port of Helsingborg, in the south of Sweden. Here she was met and welcomed by Queen Margaret and her future lord, attended by a large concourse of the northern nobility, and was thence conducted with pomp to the city of Lund, then the capital of Sweden, where the wedding ceremony was performed with regal magnificence, on the 26th of October, 1406⁵. On the 1st of November following the festival of All

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 100.

² *Issue Roll*, 7 Hen. IV., Easter.

³ *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 101.

⁴ *Olof. Bring.*, *Urbis Lund. Descriptio*, 4to., Lund., p. 10.

⁵ *Olai Petri Svenska Chronica*, Fant, vol. i., p. 282.

Saints, Philippa was anointed and crowned Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. We subjoin the accounts of this event, given by the contemporary chroniclers both of England and Sweden:—

“And in the same year, Dame Philippa, the younger daughter of King Henry IV., was led over the sea, with Sir Richard, the brother of the Duke of York, and Sir Edmund Courtenay, and many other lords and ladies, gentlemen, knights, and squires, and came into Denmark, to a town called Helsinborg; and thither came the King of Denmark, with his lords and knights, and with much other people, and received this worthy lady for his wife, with great joy and reverence, and welcomed her with all her men, and did them much reverence and worship. And then they were brought to another town that men called Lund, in Denmark. And there was this lady wedded and *sacred* (consecrated) to the King of Denmark with much solemnity; and there she was crowned Queen of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. And there was made a royal feast, in the worship of the new queen, to all that would come. And when this feast and marriage was done, these lords and ladies took their leave of the king and the queen, and came home again into England, thanked be God in all his *gests* (doings).”

A Swedish rhyming chronicler thus relates Philippa's arrival and marriage:

“When they reached the Danish shore, the damsel was landed with honour. King Eric received her well; as did also Margaret, the queen. The queen immediately made preparations for the king's marriage; she prepared most sumptuously, and in Lund this court was held. She gathered together prelates, knights, and young men: all

¹ Caxton's Chron., Lamb. MS. 401, sub anno 7 Hen. IV. Cotton. MS., Galba E. vii., f. 130 b, col. 2. Chron. Brute, Harl. MS. 4090, f. 100 b, col. a. Chron. Ang. Lansdowne MS. 212, f. 155. Epitome Cronicarum, Lamb. MS. 386, f. 71 b. Hearne's Otterbourne, p. 257. Leland's Collect., vol. i., p. 486.

these did as she required them, and came to Lund the same day she had appointed them. They reached the place with pomp and state; they were decked out as richly as they could; they rejoiced with great rejoicing. Many noble dames were also found there, with groups of courtly virgins too; pipers, bassoon-players, and various games were there continually kept up. The Danish courtiers were liberal, and were joyous in all respects. While this court was being held, all sorrow and care were forgotten; then the lords took leave and travelled home, each where he desired to be¹."

Other Swedish writers inform us of a fact overlooked by English chroniclers, viz., that Philippa's bridal portion was sent over in one solid ingot of gold, of the value of 100,000 rixdollars². It is said that an English coin called the rose noble was very common in Denmark during the reign of Eric Pomeranus³. It was probably coined from the precious ingot brought over by Queen Philippa. The circumstance of her dowry being paid in bullion instead of coin proves how very slight was the intercourse carried on between the northern kingdoms and the rest of Europe, since the coinage of England could not, without loss, be sent into Denmark and Sweden.

The queen regent had looked forward with considerable anxiety to the arrival of the bride of her adopted son. With the advance of years, her own energy began to decline; she knew that the sceptre she had

¹ Messenius, *Then. Gambla, Och Wydlyftige Rym Kronikan*, edit. Hadorph, 4to., Stock., 1674, pp. 173-4.

² Ulfeld, *Danske Hist.*, 1333-1559, p. 15. Pontoppidanus, *Hist. Eccles. Dun.*, vol. ii., p. 357. Olaus Petrus, *Fant. Rer. Suec. Script.*, vol. i., p. 282. Laurent. Petrus, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 107. Ericus Olaus, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 123. Pontanus, *Hist. Daniæ*, fol. Amst., 1631, p. 538. Joannis Loccenii, *Hist. Suecica*, 4to., Frankf., 1676, p. 122. Ludewig, *Reliq. MSS.*, vol. ix., p. 173. Ulfeld, *Dansk. Hist.*, p. 15.

³ Bircherod, *Spec. Rei. Monetariæ Daniæ*, p. 129.

so ably wielded must ere long be relinquished into the hands of the king; and she knew too how utterly unfit was this wayward and frivolous youth to hold together the stately but tottering fabric of power which she had erected with so much pains and skill. Yet Eric was not insensible to the influence of those around him: Margaret herself exercised almost unlimited sway over his mind, and she hoped much from his young wife, should that wife possess the qualities requisite for the task of guiding and controlling his wayward temper. Fortunately, Margaret found in Philippa the germs of the qualifications she sought; and though the youthful queen was only in her fourteenth year when she arrived at the court of Sweden, she soon gave tokens of the abilities that afterwards developed themselves. Her mind was assiduously cultivated, under the judicious care of Queen Margaret, who strove to inspire her pupil with the maxims and political principles that had formed her own standard of guidance through a brilliant and successful career, in a position of peculiar difficulty. The union of three northern crowns, for the first time, upon one brow, whilst strong national jealousies and prejudices still remained, rendered necessary the exercise of more than ordinary discretion for maintenance of peace; but during the life-time of Margaret no serious outbreak occurred to disturb the general tranquillity.

Immediately after the celebration of the nuptial festivities, the bridal party paid a visit to the monastery founded by St. Bridget at Wadstena¹, a town of Linköping, situated on the lake Wetter, and which lay in the direct route from Lund to Stockholm. This monastery was one of the richest and most important establishments in Sweden². Sir Henry Fitzhugh, whom the Swedish

¹ Sometimes, but mistakenly, supposed to be of the Order of St. Salvador. See Scheffer's *Chron. de Archep. Upsal.*, p. 91.

² A full account of its foundation, in 1346, and its subsequent history,

writers call Lord of Ravenswater¹, one of Queen Philippa's noble attendants, was so pleased with the convent that he pledged himself to establish one of a similar order in England; and shortly after his return thither, two monks of the monastery were sent over to accomplish this object².

Philippa now bade a regretful adieu to her English attendants, who set forth homewards, whilst she accompanied her husband and Queen Margaret on a visit to Stockholm.

The household of the young queen was soon afterwards established. Sir Jacob Urne, of Areskor, a brave knight, was appointed lord chamberlain, or "*hofmeister*," and a grave matron was installed in the office of governess or superintendent of the maids of honour and the other females in the establishment. This was Catherine, the widow of John Haytorneson, a Norwegian knight, and a niece of Saint Bridget³, a saint whose reputation was widely spread through the northern kingdoms. If this lady inherited the devotional propensities of her aunt, it would probably be owing to her influence over the mind of the young queen that Philippa acquired that strong attachment to the church and to conventional seclusion which characterized her after-life.

A more congenial companion, in point of age at is given in the work of Rhyzilius, Archbishop of Linköping, entitled "*Monasteriologia Suiogotheca*," 12mo., Linköping, 1740.

¹ Doubtless from Ravensworth castle, in Yorkshire, his principal residence. *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i., p. 403.

² *Diarium Wadstenense*, ab ann. 1344 ad ann. 1545. Fant's *Scriptores*, vol. i., p. 123.

³ Messenius, *Scondia Illustrata*, vol. iii., p. 40. A contemporary life of her was written by Birger, Archbishop of Upsal. Scheffer, *Chron. de Arch. Upsal.*, 12mo., Upsal, 1673. Chladenius, Professor of Theology at Wittemberg, published a volume on the revelations of St. Bridget, but its marvels were considered too great to be believed, and it was said that the devil himself had haunted the woman. Meisnerus, *de Apparit. Dæmonor.*, and Teustking. *Gynæceum, Hæretico-fanatic, sub voce Brigitta*.

least, was the Princess Catherine, sister of King Eric, who, it will be remembered, was intended to be doubly related to Philippa, by a union with her brother, Prince Henry. Negotiations had already been opened for her marriage with John, Prince Palatine, brother of Louis of Bavaria, the husband of the Princess Blanche of England¹, and in 1410 she quitted her northern home and her young sister-in-law, to fulfil her marriage engagement².

The usual places of residence frequented by Philippa were the cities of Copenhagen and Lund, the latter at that time a flourishing town, possessing great commercial prosperity. Its merchants had risen to such a degree of opulence and respectability, that it was noted as a remarkable circumstance that, as early as 1395, their daughters were entitled "*demoiselles*"³.

The winter succeeding the arrival of the English princess, was one of almost unexampled severity. The following year a terrible calamity overtook the city of Stockholm; it was almost consumed by fire, and upwards of one thousand of the inhabitants lost their lives⁴. A period of national prosperity ensued, during which Eric, in conjunction with Queen Margaret, succeeded in redeeming Gothland, for the sum of 10,000 English nobles, from the Teutonic knights, who held it in pledge, and uniting it with the northern kingdoms⁵.

Margaret now nominally relinquished the regency, but

¹ Martène, Collect. Ampliss., vol. iv., pp. 133-5. Chmel, Regesta Rup. Imperat., p. 151.

² Delicia Regni Suec., vol. i., p. 389. Mallet, Hist. de Danem., vol. iv., p. 58. Pontanus, p. 541.

³ Olof. Bring., Urbis Lund. Descriptio, p. 13. Waldemar III. had granted it many commercial privileges.

⁴ Diarium Wadsten., ut sup., p. 143. Catal. Rerum Suec., Fant, vol. i., pp. 16, 17.

⁵ Fant, Scriptores, vol. iv., p. 60. Deliciæ Regn. Suec., vol. i., p. 386. Meursius, Hist. Dan., p. 102. Ludewig, Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., pp. 90, 191.

her influence was such that affairs were really as much under her control as before¹. In 1411, a partial rupture took place between Eric and his royal aunt. The queen entertained a strong and, as was reported, a criminal partiality for Abraham Broderon, one of the chief of the Danish nobility, and Eric, who had now reached manhood, and suffered from the tyrannous restrictions imposed upon him by the favourite, rebelled and caused Broderon to be put to death; greatly to the mortification of Margaret². This able princess herself soon afterwards fell a victim to the plague. She died on board a vessel, in which she was preparing to return to Denmark, after a military expedition to Holstein, on October 27th, 1412, in the 60th year of her age³. The remains of Margaret were first interred at the monastery of Sora, and thence transferred to the cathedral at Roskild, where in 1423 Eric erected a magnificent monument of alabaster to her memory⁴.

Queen Philippa had now attained her nineteenth year,

¹ Hamsfort, Chron. Langebek. Script., vol. i., p. 320.

² Chron. Wisb., Ludewig. Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., p. 192. Fant, vol. i., p. 60. Pontanus, p. 540. Joannis Loccen., p. 118. Annal. Wisbyens. Langebek, vol. i., pp. 263, 320.

³ Mallet, Hist. de Danem., vol. iv., p. 52. Gebhardi, vol. i., p. 646. Fant, vol. i., p. 47. Chron. Daniae, Ludewig, Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., p. 123. This latter chronicler speaks of Margaret as a mother to the clergy, and a most singular benefactress of the church; but another writer of the same period reports less favourably. He tells us that one Ulpho, a monk of Wadstena, being at prayer in his monastery, expressed in his petitions deep regret that he could not pray for the soul of Queen Margaret, because she was not a pious woman; when a voice from the cross responded—"Condemn her not, for I have not condemned her; she was mine. The following summary of her character was written three years after her decease: "The Lady Margaret was most ambitious, for with incredible cunning she had subdued these three kingdoms into her own hands and reduced them completely; nor could any one resist her cunning. This is the opinion of the Swedes and also of some nobles of the kingdom of Denmark concerning Margaret. Only by the ecclesiastics of the kingdom is she esteemed most prudent and most Christian." Anon. Chron. Dan. Suec. Langebek, vol. i., p. 398. See also Hist. Reg. Daniae, Lindenborch, p. 44.

⁴ Langebek, vol. i., p. 325.

and though placed in a very different position, as merely queen-consort, from that held by Margaret, through whom three crowns were transmitted to the son of her adoption, she still succeeded to a considerable share of the influence that had been exercised by the late queen in the government, and employed it so judiciously as to secure for herself the enthusiastic attachment of all her subjects, particularly those of Denmark.

For this country, King Eric always showed a marked and very injudicious preference. He failed egregiously in the fulfilment of the formal engagements into which he had entered with the Swedes. One of these was that he would reside four months of every year in their territory; a second stipulated that the principal offices of the kingdom should be filled by natives; and another that the fortresses should remain in the hands of Swedish governors¹. Notwithstanding his pledges, Eric took the fortresses into his own hands, filled the chief offices of the kingdom, temporal and spiritual, with Danes, many of whom, to aggravate the grievance, were wholly unworthy of the trust reposed in them², and spent the greatest part of his time at Copenhagen, whither the taxes raised in the sister-kingdoms were annually transported, to the great indignation of the inhabitants.

“Sweden shall nourish thee, Norway shall clothe thee, Denmark shall defend thee,” was a favourite maxim inculcated by Queen Margaret upon her young heir, and he so worked it out as to give the subjects of his two more northerly kingdoms ground for jealous apprehen-

¹ Margaret herself had violated her solemn pledges on this point; and when the Swedes urged the authority of her signed promises, insultingly bade *them* keep their charters, and *she* would keep their fortresses. *Joan. Loccen., Hist. Suec., p. 118.*

² In 1408 he promoted to the archbishopric of Upsal a Dane, by name John Jerechim, whose conduct was such an outrage on all propriety that he was slain by his own diocesans. *Scheffer, Chron. de Arch. Upsal., p. 88.* See also *pp. 94 and 95.*

sion that they were only to be made subservient, by the expenditure of toil and treasure, to the aggrandizement of Denmark¹. But the prudence of Queen Philippa tempered her husband's measures; and although she was accused of ambition in meddling too much with political affairs², yet the instances in which her interference is recorded show that it proved of great advantage to the state; and after-events plainly evinced that it was only through the energy of her private character, that Eric was so long enabled to maintain himself in his exalted position³. The Danes themselves were conscious of this, as is proved by the authority of one of their own poets, who wrote a eulogy on Queen Philippa, of which the following is a literal translation:

“Had not beautiful England given him a wife who, by her wise counsels, transfers upon herself the whole care of the kingdoms, and knows how to deal with men by justice and benevolence, the tyrant, expelled, would not now wield his sceptre. She rules the people by her virtues, and restrains the harsh deeds of her husband, guiding him by blessed monitions and good counsels⁴.” Another writer speaks of her as a new guardian angel, by whose influence he was defended, and whose care and prudence saved him from many of the consequences of his own failings⁵.

It has been currently reported by modern historians, that Philippa was early separated from her husband, on account of the ill-treatment she received, and that she spent the remainder of her life in conventual retirement; but this statement is utterly unfounded. The rumour may have possibly originated in the following circum-

¹ Fant, *Scriptores*, vol. ii., pp. 129, 130. Joan. Loccen., *Hist. Suec.*, p. 122.

² Reutershusius *Exegesis*, *Hist.*, p. 247.

³ Gebhardi, vol. i., p. 664.

⁴ Messenius, *Scand. Illust.*, vol. xii., p. 223.

⁵ *Nye Danske Magazin til Histor.*, published by the Danish Historical Society, 4to., Kiob., 1810, vol. iii., p. 86.

stance. On the 12th of January, 1415, the queen paid a second visit to Wadstena, and resided there for some days. The following Sunday, an assembly of the inmates of the monastery was held, in the withdrawing room or parlour of the convent, where, in honour of the queen's presence, all the relics were displayed to view. With much simplicity and humility, Philippa commended herself to the prayers of the assembly and retired. Impressed with the serene tranquillity of the life led by these cloistered recluses, the queen again appeared at Wadstena on the following Sunday, and requested permission to have her name enrolled among the nuns. The royal votaress was received with all possible reverence, and her request immediately complied with; but the enrolment was merely a nominal honour, perhaps attended with some proviso of future residence, in case she should become a widow. She only remained at the convent long enough to be present at the consecration of a noble maiden, Christina, daughter of Lindorn of West Gothland, at whose profession she desired to assist.

On other occasions, the queen resided at Wadstena for a few weeks or months together¹; taking delight in the seclusion of the place, and perhaps indulging herself in such literary recreations as it afforded, several of the monks then at Wadstena being literary men², and it boasted the unusual advantage of a library, small indeed, but greatly prized at a time when a collection of only a few volumes was a rarity³. The queen took so deep an interest in this convent that it formed one subject of her correspondence with her brother, Henry V. of England.

¹ Fant's *Scriptores*, vol. i., p. 283; vol. ii., p. 108.

² Scheffer, *Suecica Litterata*, pp. 11-12, *Bibliotheca Septentrionis Erudita*.

³ The diary of Wadstena records, with great delight, the receipt, in 1406, of three volumes, a "*Catholicon*," a "*Majus Speculum Historiale*," and a "*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*," which had been purchased in Paris, and presented, with other smaller books, by a Swedish nobleman. Fant, vol. i., p. 96.

In the May of the year 1415, at the request of King Henry, seconded by the influence of Philippa and her husband, four consecrated sisters of Wadstena, and two who had not yet completed their noviciate, with two friars, were selected to found a similar order in England, or perhaps to perpetuate and confirm that already established by Sir Henry Fitzhugh. The departure of these recluses was conducted with great solemnity: they were led from the monastery by the Archbishop of Upsal, with three Swedish and one Norwegian bishop, under an escort of knights, and attended by the officers of state¹. The queen was a spectatress of the scene, and probably followed with many a sigh the privileged individuals who were so soon to behold that native land, from which her destiny had separated her for life².

Of the intercourse carried on between Queen Philippa and her own family, few records remain. In 1407, an embassy was sent over to Denmark, but Philippa is not named in the occasional political correspondence that transpired between her father and husband³. In 1409, King Henry created her a lady-companion of the Order of the Garter, and sent her the splendid robes of the order; her husband was not elected till some years subsequently⁴. The death of Henry IV., in 1413, consigned the English crown to his son Henry V., between whom and King Eric political relationships were amicably maintained⁵. The Privy Council Acts mention Master

¹ No notice of the arrival and settlement of these ecclesiastics in England has been discovered. The only monastic establishments recorded to have been founded by Henry IV. are the Carthusian priory at Shene and the Austin nunnery at Syon, both in the year 1414. Dugdale's *Monast. Anglic.*, new edit., vol. vi., pp. 29, 540.

² *Diarium Wadstenense*, Fant, vol. i., p. 134.

³ Willebrant, *Hanseas Chron.*, Append., 48-50. *Regest. Diplom. Danica*, published by the Danish Academy of Sciences, vol. i., p. 373.

⁴ *Nicolas' Order of the Garter*, p. 493, and Appendix LIV. *Devon's Pipe Rolls*, p. 389.

⁵ *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 2, pp. 150, 158. *Regest. Diplom. Dan.*, vol. i. pp. 381-2.

Peter, secretary to the King of Denmark, as being in London in 1416, and about to return with letters addressed to his master, but the communications appear to have been merely of political bearing¹. Indeed, the early age at which Philippa left her native country, and the difference in years between herself and her brother Henry V. would probably lead the latter to think of her rather as a pleasing child than as a companion and friend; and, therefore, on the death of her father, her ties to England were considerably weakened.

In the year 1416 we find the name of the queen occurring for the first time in a state document, by which King Eric, "in presence of his dear wife Philippa," of the Bishop of Roskild, the chancellor, and others, makes a grant of lands to the cloister of Mariebo². As this is the only religious benefaction recorded to have been made by Eric, there is little doubt that it was bestowed, not only in the presence, but through the influence of his wife.

Eric and Philippa had now been married many years, but they were still unblessed by offspring: a deprivation the more regretted by both, as there was no near male heir to inherit the three crowns. Anxious to secure the settlement of the succession, Eric, in an assembly of the states, adopted, as his successor, in anticipation of his dying childless, Bugislaus, son and heir of his uncle Bugislaus, Duke of Pomerania³.

The few succeeding years were signalized by military enterprises in Sleswick-Holstein and Istria, with a view to the enlargement of the territorial possessions of King Eric. They were conducted with a degree of licentious cruelty and profanity that disgusted his subjects, and

¹ Nicolas' Privy Council Acts, vol. ii., pp. 192, 270. Cotton. MS., Nero B. iii., f. 30.

² Danske Magazin, ut sup., vol. iii., p. 281; vol. v., pp. 71, 259.

³ Hans Nielsson Strelow, Chron. Guthland, 4to., Kiob., 1663, p. 200.

inflicted needless sufferings on the conquered states. One of the horrible scenes that transpired during this campaign is said to have so affected the mind of the king himself, that it haunted him ever after, and he wept whenever he thought of it¹.

It has been previously noted, that King Henry had permitted his daughter to leave England before any definite arrangement had been made for her jointure lands; but the result proved that Eric had no disposition to neglect her interests. He provided her with ample revenues of lands in Sweden and Norway. Some obstructions arising in her appropriation of their revenues, in 1420 he exchanged these lands for others situated in Denmark²; endowing her, in fact, with the whole possessions of the crown in the island of Seland, in which Copenhagen stands, including castles, market-towns, farms, fisheries, &c., to be enjoyed unobstructedly for life, or until she could be put into full possession of the previously appointed dower; in which case, Seland was to be resigned into the hands of the then regnant monarch. The queen herself stipulated that, during his life-time, her husband should possess, as he had previously done, full power over all her jointure lands³.

The same patent also conferred upon Queen Philippa the important office of the regency of the kingdom, in case of King Eric's decease before the majority of his appointed heir, Duke Bugislaus, or of such other person as should be elected by the estates of the three kingdoms, to fill the vacant throne, if Bugislaus should chance to die. This mark of confidence, the strongest that could be bestowed upon Philippa, was granted by her husband, with the unanimous consent, and by the advice of the

¹ Fant, *Rer. Dan. Scriptores*, vol. i., pp. 138-141. Ludewig, *Reliq. MSS.*, vol. ix., p. 124.

² Pontoppid., *Hist. Eccles. Dan.*, vol. ii., p. 357.

³ Pontanus, *Rer. Dan. Hist.*, p. 565. Huitfeldt, *Dannem. Hist.*, 4to, Kiob., 1603, vol. iv., p. 294.

council of his kingdoms, and amply testified their high appreciation of her prudence and abilities. The declaratory letter of the queen on this subject, which is still preserved, was signed by the principal lords spiritual and temporal; it bears date, June 30, 1420¹, and from that time, her prospective rights as regent, on the death of the king, were fully recognized by even the noblest among his subjects².

Philippa needed some compensation in the public respect and dignity which she enjoyed, for the private sufferings to which she was obliged to submit. The habits of her husband were licentious and dissipated: his daily potations and nightly revels in gaming-houses and other disreputable haunts alike unfitted him to be the companion of a refined and virtuous woman, and to discharge the kingly duties devolving upon him³. Philippa strove earnestly to rectify these disorders in his conduct, but when her efforts failed, she appears to have borne her destiny in dignified and uncomplaining silence. In another respect, Eric's conduct was distressing to his wife: he shared little of that reverence for the church which characterized her, treated the clergy with disrespect, and even infringed upon their privileges. A curious instance of his want of reverence towards the pope is recorded by Pontanus⁴. On one occasion, a papal letter was delivered to him by a messenger sent expressly from Rome, the contents of which greatly displeased him, and he vented his wrath by flinging the parchment, with its heavy seal appended, in

¹ A translation of these letters is given in Appendix, No. viii.

² This appears from a charter granted to Thomas, Bishop of the Orcades Islands, in which, as one of the conditions of his office, he promises to resign his power into the hands of King Eric, whenever required to do so, or in case of his death, into those of Philippa, or after the decease of both, to yield it to their successor, Bugislaus. Meursius, p. 109. Pontanus, p. 567. Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 309, prints the deed of grant at full. It bears date July 10, 1422.

³ Pontoppid., vol. ii., p. 357.

⁴ Hist. Dan., p. 617; also Pontoppid., vol. ii., p. 358.

the face of the messenger, and that with such force as to draw blood. Nor thus content, Eric ordered the obnoxious document to be delivered to its unfortunate bearer, and commanded him to eat it up immediately, seal and all, in his presence. But as no threats could avail to induce him to swallow so unsavoury a morsel, he was thrown into prison, and made to endure the whole weight of the royal displeasure.

In his early youth, Eric is said to have been studious; he was certainly well educated by Queen Margaret. A proof that he was not neglectful of literature exists in the fact that he was the first monarch who projected the erection of a college in Denmark. He obtained a papal permission for it, but the design was not carried out in his time¹.

One of the first uses which Queen Philippa made of the income recently granted her was to enter into an engagement with the monks of Wadstena, to have a daily mass performed there for King Eric and herself, and for her parents. Such was the mutual confidence subsisting between the queen and this her favourite convent, that no formal convention was made on the subject, but a simple promise was given on their part to comply in perpetuity with the condition on which her liberality was bestowed². The queen had brought with her from England a precious relic, the arm of St. Canute; and, in March 1422, by permission of her husband, this valuable gift was presented to the monastery.

A few months afterwards, a papal mandate was brought to Wadstena, which excited general consternation. Pope Martin V., carrying out some recently-ordained regulations for the maintenance of monastic discipline, rendered necessary by impropriety of conduct in many estab-

¹ The Latin chronicle of Denmark, which bears his name, and professes to be his composition, is manifestly a forgery. It is the work of a Cistercian monk, but may possibly have been composed at the request and for the satisfaction of the king. Pontoppid., vol. ii., p. 359.

² Diar. Wadsten., Fant, vol. i., p. 142.

ishments, peremptorily commanded an entire separation of the monks from the nuns;—at Wadstena, as in many other monasteries, they had hitherto occupied contiguous habitations. It does not appear that irregularities at this convent had called forth this mandate, and it so greatly distressed the whole community, that they besought the Archbishop of Upsal to supplicate the interference of the king and queen, for the revocation of the sentence. In accordance with this application they sent Nicholas, Dean of Strengen, on an express mission to Rome, on the subject; “but,” says the monk of Wadstena, from whose diary these particulars are extracted, “the queen was much more fervent than the king, both in gifts and expense. May our Saviour, founder of our order, grant that she may persevere inviolable in his strength¹.”

Queen Philippa's powers of regency were called into exercise earlier than she had anticipated, for in the month of August 1423, King Eric set out on a long contemplated pilgrimage to the Holy Land². Before his departure, he concluded a peace with the Hanseatic towns, embracing many important regulations; by one of which he bound them, in case of his dying before the queen, to maintain her in the full possession of all her dower-rights and privileges³.

Resigning his government into the hands of his wife, the king commenced his travels with a small train of forty knights. He first visited his paternal estates in Pomernia⁴, and thence proceeded to Poland, and was present at the coronation of Sophia, Princess of Kiow, the fourth

¹ Diar. Wadsten., ut sup., p. 145.

² Murray, J. P., *Commentatio Historica de Reginâ Philippâ*, 4to, Gottingen, 1774.

³ Huitfeldt prints this document, which bears date June 25, 1423, vol. iv., pp. 322-330. It received the formal confirmation of the queen in a deed dated from “the king's chamber, Kalundborg castle, October 27, 1426.” *Danske Magazin*, vol. v., p. 326.

⁴ Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 339. Reedtz, *Répertoire Histor. et Chronol. des Traités*, 8vo, Gottingen, 1826, p. 44.

wife of Uladislauſ Jagello, King of Poland. He next advanced into Hungary, to ſee his uncle, the Emperor Sigismund¹, who was prosecuting a war with the Huſſites, or “the crucified,” as they were termed², and was then engaged in the ſiege of Buda. The object of King Eric’s viſit was to ſettle a long-pending diſpute between Denmark and Holſtein, in reference to the ſupremacy of the latter duchy. Henry, Duke of Holſtein, and his two brothers, were ſummoned to meet the king at the imperial court; but they reſuſed to obey the mandate, and ſent an episcopal ambaffador in their ſtead. The deciſion of the emperor was given againſt them, and in favour of King Eric, who was adjudged lord paramount of the duchy³.

From Hungary he continued his progreſs eaſtward; not in regal ſtate, but in the diſguiſe of a ſervant attending upon a nobleman, and with a ſmall ſuite of attendants.

During this oriental expedition, Eric was expoſed to great peril. A Syrian in the imperial army wrote to a friend, then reſiding in Paleſtine, that a ſeeming pilgrim who would ſpeedily make his appearance in that neighbourhood, was in reality no leſs a perſon than the ſovereign of the three northern kingdoms of Europe; and in order that he might not be miſtaken in his identity, ſent him an accurately drawn portrait of King Eric. Unconſcious of the ſnares that awaited him, the king paſſed through Turkey on to Syria, ſtrictly enjoining upon his attendants not to reveal his rank, and thus he entered the Holy Land. He had ſome difficulty in obtaining acceſs to

¹ The mother of Sigismund was Elizabeth of Pomerania, ſiſter of Duke Wratiſlaus, Eric’s father. Hubner’s Genealogiſchen Tabellen, Nos. 30, 198. Ludewig, Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., p. 119.

² Louis of Bavaria, formerly the huſband of the princeſs Blanche of England, and Peter, Infant of Portugal, aſſiſted in his army.

³ It bears date July 28, 1424. Hamsfort, Chron. Langebek, vol. i., p. 325. Ludewig, Reliq. Diplom., vol. ix., p. 124. Albert Kranzius, Rer. Germ. Hiſt., Fol. 1583, p. 180. Delic. Regn. Suec., pp. 405-6. Ludewig, Rel. MSS., vol. ix., p. 128. Fant, vol. v., p. 145.

Jerusalem, in consequence of the opposition of the sultan to Christian pilgrims, and only succeeded through the intervention of the nobleman whose servant he represented himself to be. This object accomplished, and still keeping up his incognito, King Eric prepared for his homeward voyage. Before the vessel set sail, however, he was taken aside by a noble stranger, who asked to speak with him. "Do you think you are unknown amongst us?" said he. "Here is your face," producing the portrait, which was said to be a most striking likeness; "we know you to be the king of three kingdoms. What would you do if it were known to you that any of us were in your realms in similar disguise?" The king was astounded at so unexpected a salutation, and knew not how to reply. He saw at once the danger under which he lay of having his name and rank betrayed to the sultan, who would not fail to take advantage of his unprotected condition. A second time the interference of the nobleman who was his pretended master was called in, and the king was allowed to depart unmolested, on condition of paying a ransom so heavy that it exhausted the whole of the money and jewels that he had brought with him¹.

Of the regency of Queen Philippa, during this interval, several particulars are recorded. Her husband being in great want of money, previously to his departure, had excited great disgust among all classes of his subjects, by a large issue of a coinage of debased metal. Its intrinsic value was little more than a fourth of its nominal worth, yet the king commanded his subjects, on pain of confiscation of their goods, to receive it at his estimate, and recalled the old coinage and all foreign money in the kingdom. The consequence was, that foreign merchants refused to exchange their goods for this base money, and

¹ Kranzius, p. 181. Pontanus, p. 177.

the inhabitants, who were dependent on other countries for their luxuries and many of their comforts, suffered severely.

The queen had the mortification to find that this coinage gave rise to many jeering songs and libels, little creditable to the monarch who was the subject of them, which were widely circulating among all ranks of the people¹, and were carried by the merchants into foreign countries. The steps taken by Philippa on this trying contingency equally illustrate her prudence as a sovereign, and her discretion as a wife; and afford also clear proof of the extent to which she was able to influence the executive administration of the kingdom. She recalled all the base coinage and had it purified and restored to its original value, taking care to avoid any obvious change in the die from which it had been cast, in order that the alteration might escape her husband's notice; and in this modified form it was re-issued from the royal mint, and the dissatisfaction of the people was quelled². Their feelings had, however, become so embittered towards their sovereign, that they unjustly attributed to some fault on his part a failure in the herring fishery, formerly an abundant source of occupation and wealth to the inhabitants of Scandinavia, which was greatly diminished by the shoals of fish taking a different direction³.

One of the first acts of Queen Philippa's regency was to bestow lands on the Archdeacon of Aarhus, for the benefit of his monastery⁴. With the bishop of the diocese, Ulric Stigens, who had recently succeeded to that dignity, the queen had a prolonged contest in reference to the inherit-

¹ Chron. Hamsfort, Langebek, vol. i., p. 326.

² Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 401. Pontanus, p. 584. Kranzius, p. 182. Bircherod, Specimen Ant. Rei Monet. Danorum, 4to, Copenhagen, 1701, p. 126. The best account of this transaction is in *Gebhardi Geschichte Danem.*, vol. i., p. 657.

³ Kranzius, ut sup.

⁴ Danske Magazin, vol. iii., p. 263.

ance of Boe, the late bishop. The difference was submitted of the arbitration of two bishops, one to be chosen by each party, whose verdict was to be given within six weeks. They settled the point with much consideration for the personal claims of the queen, to whom all undischarged reckonings due from the late bishop were to be paid; whilst concerning any other matters in dispute they were referred to the decision of ecclesiastical and legal commissioners well acquainted with the lands and versed in the particular legal rights on which the question hinged¹.

The queen herself, on another occasion, was appealed to as umpire in a dispute between the Archdeacon of Lund and one, Nils Jenssen, regarding some property in Scandinavia, rented by the former, and held by the latter. The rental not being duly discharged according to agreement, the queen requested two councillors of state and a judge to hold a court, and give their legal opinion on the matter in question. It was decided in favour of Nils Jenssen².

About the same time, an application was made to Philippa, by her Norwegian subjects, to prohibit the unlawful dealings of smugglers and other foreign traders, whose malpractices were very injurious to the inhabitants of Bergen. The queen responded to their request by the publication of the following letter:—

“Philippa, by God’s grace, Queen of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Vandals and Goths, &c. We strictly

¹ Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 373, date February 13, 1425.

² The original decree is in the archives of Loberöd, recently transferred to the University Library of Lund. It is published by Wieselgren in his *Gardiska Archivet*, pt. ii., p. 23. The date given in the document is 1405, but this is evidently a mistake for 1425, since at the former period Philippa had not arrived in Sweden. Wieselgren supposes that the property in Scandinavia was part of Philippa’s dower portion, and that on this account her interference was solicited; but as this is not stated in the deed, it seems more probable that she was referred to in her capacity as regent. See *Regesta Diplom. Dan.*, published by the Danish Academy of Sciences, 4to, Copenh., 1847, vol. i., p. 360.

forbid, on peril of our vengeance, every merchant, whether a native or foreigner, a free-born man, burgher, or resident in a trading town, peasant or otherwise, whosoever he be, to practise or carry on any foreign or unlawful trade, in the country or the havens round about Bergen, otherwise than as law and justice have decreed and do decree; but whoso will carry on trade and have business, let him conduct it according to the laws of Bergen, and in no other way than is customary. Forasmuch as we command all our chamberlains and bailiffs around Bergen to stay and hinder all such wrong and unlawfulness in merchandize, and to judge him, be he who he may, that dares to act to the contrary of this. We shall judge him who herein delays or fulfils not our command and pleasure, and exercise upon him our vengeance and wrath. Given at Wadstena, in the year 1425, under our signet¹."

As a condition of the prohibitions which, by confining trade to its lawful exercise, were likely to prove very advantageous to the inhabitants of Bergen, Philippa imposed upon them several restrictions, directed chiefly against the crimes which, from her own painful experience, she knew to be so destructive of domestic comfort—drunkenness and impurity. She prohibited any persons, excepting householders of respectable character, resident in properly licensed houses, to sell ale,—then, as now, the staple drink of the country,—and forbade beer-houses to be kept by any person of loose habits; adding restrictions in reference to its sale, particularly in towns. She also prohibited any houses of ill repute from being kept within the walls of a town, and gave orders that within the five days ensuing upon the publication of her decree, all persons of suspicious character should remove to a prescribed distance, and submit to certain rigid regulations, under penalty of a fine to the crown².

¹ Paus, *Samling of Norske Love*, 4to, Kiob., 1751; vol. ii., p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7.

Within a few months after the date of this document, King Eric again returned to Denmark. Shortly afterwards, a synod was held at Copenhagen, presided over by the Archbishop of Lund; one of the first regulations passed by this assembly was that henceforth daily petitions should be offered in every church throughout the kingdom, for King Eric and Queen Philippa. Many other ecclesiastical statutes were drawn up, curiously illustrative of the state of manners in Denmark at that period. The celebration of religious services in road-side chapels, frequented by pilgrims, was especially enjoined—only to be dispensed with in case of stormy weather, or when the places of worship were situated in dangerous regions. But the main points of legislation were the habits and dress of the clergy: luxury, drunkenness, lasciviousness, and wearing of arms were expressly prohibited for them; they were not to wear sleeves hanging down below the elbows; not to stuff out any part of their dress with parchment, excepting their hats; not to display fringes, nor to ornament their gowns with needless appendages. A strict separateness of the sexes in all conventual establishments was also enforced.

The cherished political project of King Eric, that of entirely subduing Sleswick-Holstein, and rendering it a dependency of Denmark, was still vigorously prosecuted by him¹, and, in 1427, an attack being made by the Holsteiners on the castle and city of Flensburg, Eric obtained a great naval victory over them, in which their Duke Gerhard lost his life². The imperial legate remonstrated with the Holsteiners on their disobedience to the mandate of the emperor³, who had commanded them to acknowledge the sovereignty of King Eric; for a considerable time, he made vigorous efforts to compose the

¹ G. L. Baden, *Danmark's Riges Hist.*, 8vo, Kiob., 1829, vol. ii., p. 117.

² Fant, vol. i., p. 146.

³ Mallet, vol. iv., p. 139.

strife by mediation; his principal argument being, that any dissensions among the allies of the empire prevented the combined exertions necessary to the extirpation of the Hussite heresy. Eric professed himself willing to listen to terms, and a meeting of the contending parties was arranged to take place at Nykoping, in the island of Falserbo, soon after Easter, in 1428. In spite of the continued provocations of the Holsteiners, whose fleet, joined by that of the Hamburgers, was perpetually making predatory incursions on his coasts, Eric still promised to comply with the wishes of the emperor, and attend the convention, and for that purpose obtained a safe-conduct from the fleet of the enemy, then stationed at Wismar¹.

But no sooner was the king thrown off his guard by the prospect of peace, than the treacherous Holsteiners broke through the terms of the truce, which was to last till the close of the convention, and with their whole fleet of two hundred and sixty large vessels, manned by 12,000 troops, and aided by pirate Vandal hordes to the number of 800 more, bore down upon the Danish capital, hoping to find it unprepared and defenceless. Eric was then absent from his capital, at the monastery of Sora,—some say, on a visit of devotion; others, that tidings of the coming attack had reached him, and that he fled through fear.² The latter seems scarcely probable, as personal cowardice was not among the many faults of King Eric; on the other hand, the distance between Sora and Copenhagen was not sufficient to have prevented his return in time to share the impending danger, had he been so disposed. The queen, with dauntless intrepidity, remained at Copenhagen; and no sooner did she espy the sails of the enemy's fleet bearing down towards the harbour, than girding on a sword, she called the guards

¹ Kranzius, p. 183.

² Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 439. Messenius, Scand. Illust., vol. iii., p. 51.

to arms, reminding them of their former bravery and love for their father-land. She placed herself at their head and summoned all the youth of the city to join them, promising gifts and honours to those that were firm and brave in the defence of their homes, in an emergency so terrible; for had the pirate hordes effected a landing, the city must inevitably have fallen a sacrifice to their merciless rapacity. Inspired by the enthusiasm of their queen, the citizens, as with one accord, rose at her call, and made vigorous preparations for resistance¹.

The Danish fleet, though small, was so stationed as to prevent the entrance of the enemy into the harbour, but they endeavoured, by filling several of their largest vessels with stones, and sinking them at the mouth of the port, to obtain a basis whereon to erect a machine, with which they might thunder formidable missiles against the ramparts of the town. So confident were the Holsteiners of success in their enterprise, that they had even brought with them quantities of empty casks and of salt, with which to preserve the oxen and hides which they expected to carry home in abundance. But their designs were foiled partly by natural impediments, the width and depth of the harbour presenting formidable obstacles, and partly by the valour of the inhabitants, who, fastening together a number of strong beams, ran a sort of rude pier into the sea, from which they could, with greater advantage, launch weapons against the enemy; and then, in mockery of the preparations made by their foes for salting and carrying away stores of Danish beef, they bound a single heifer to a stake at the end of the pier, and dared the assailants to advance to seize it.

It was some time before the Holsteiners and their pirate associates could be brought to acknowledge that the design in which they had felt so certain of success

¹ Bering., *Flor. Danic. Hist.*, p. 574.

was baffled by the weak hand of a woman. At length they were obliged to own themselves conquered, and to set sail homewards, reaping disgrace and mockery, instead of glory, as the result of all the labour and expense they had incurred¹. On their return, they revenged themselves by sacking and burning the town of Sanskron, which was abandoned at the approach of the Holsteiners, by the English and other merchant-vessels stationed in the port.

After this happy deliverance, the queen celebrated the Easter festival, in the midst of her grateful subjects, with great rejoicings, and gave a magnificent feast in the citadel to all the youth who had proved their love and fidelity to her. She graced the table by her presence, and promised to influence the king to bestow on them such favours as should proportionally reward their merit, whilst she herself distributed honorary badges of distinction among them².

The queen availed herself of this joyous occasion, when all hearts were bounding with gladness, to effect a reconciliation between two of the principal citizens of Copenhagen, named Martin and Magnus Goe. At such a time, they could not refuse the proffered mediation of the royal lady to whose efforts their city owed its salvation; and thus a dispute of many years' continuance was terminated by her friendly interference³.

King Eric now returned, and was proudly welcomed by his heroic wife to the capital which she had been the means, under God, of saving from destruction⁴.

The king, still entertaining a hope of terminating the Holstein war by mediation, attended an assembly at

¹ Pontanus, *Hist. Dan.*, p. 587. Mallet, vol. iv., p. 113. Baden, *Danmark's Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 120.

² Pontanus, p. 298. Huitfeldt, vol. iv., p. 440.

³ Chron. Hamsf. Langebek, vol. i., p. 327.

⁴ Ludwig Holberg, *Dannemark's Riges Historie*, 4to, Lond., 1762, p. 553. Pontoppid., *Danske Atlas*, vol. i., p. 239.

Nykoping, the following year, when the deputies of both parties strove to arrange the terms of a final treaty. Eric stipulated positively that the mediation of the emperor, whom he knew to be friendly to his cause, should be accepted. The Holsteiners, with equal pertinacity, refused to accept any interference saving that of the pope; so the negotiations were broken off, and hostilities renewed¹.

Anticipating this result, Queen Philippa, as soon as her husband had taken his departure for Nykoping, had commenced preparations for war. The honour derived from her successful defence of Copenhagen, in the preceding summer, had inspired her with a love of military enterprise, and she longed for the glory of deciding at one blow the issue of this long-protracted contest. Moreover, another and a very powerful motive urged her onwards in the prosecution of such steps as were likely to contribute to the future welfare of her kingdoms. Upwards of twenty-three years after her marriage, a prospect at last existed of the birth of an heir to the northern thrones. Philippa's energies had hitherto been exerted in behalf of a husband who repaid her with infidelity and negligence, if not with positive unkindness; but she now felt the influence of a new and delightful impulse to exertion, and rejoiced in the hope of securing the future prosperity of her expected child. Whilst her husband was still absent in another part of his dominions, the queen, without consulting him, armed a fleet of seventy-five vessels with 1400 troops, under her own auspices, and dispatched them to attack Stralsund. Success at first crowned their efforts, but they were detained by contrary and tempestuous winds; the enemy rallied their courage, and attacked the Danish fleet, already seriously damaged by a heavy storm, with such vigour, that eighteen vessels were lost and three hundred of the soldiers taken prisoners; forty of

¹ Pontanus, p. 590.

them were beheaded, and of the rest a few only were sent back with mutilated limbs, as living ensamples to their countrymen of the gratified vengeance of the foe¹.

Very bitter was the disappointment of the queen at this failure of her enterprise: she shed a profusion of tears, execrating the unhappy audacity of the counsels that had occasioned so great a loss to the public, and such woe to herself². Justly dreading the resentment of her lord, Philippa left Copenhagen and retired to Sweden, to escape the first ebullitions of his wrath. Eric's irritation on account of this discomfiture was increased by a still greater misfortune, which happened almost simultaneously. The merchant-vessels that were transporting to Denmark the whole of the annual tribute collected in Sweden during the preceding year were taken by the enemy, despite the resistance of a guard of four hundred men, who defended the treasure with desperate bravery³.

These combined disasters so enraged the king that he refused the slightest assistance to the unfortunate sailors and soldiers who found their way home with the wreck of the fleet, and allowed them to suffer from starvation in the very harbour of Copenhagen. In their distress, they fled to Sweden, and on arriving there sent a petition to the queen for help. They had been reduced to such an extreme by famine, as to consume even the leather of which part of their dress was composed. The compassionate heart of Philippa was deeply touched by the misfortunes of these brave men; "she sent them both meat and ale," says a Swedish writer, "and helped them to get shipping; each got home as he best could, some on foot and some on horse⁴."

¹ Kranzius, p. 184. Pontanus, p. 590. Delic. Regn. Suec., vol. iii., p. 82. Ludewig, Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., p. 128. Fant's Scriptores, vol. i., p. 283.

² Beringius, p. 575.

³ Pontanus, ut sup.

⁴ Messenius, Rym. Cron., Hadorph's edit., vol. i., p. 181.

The queen now returned to Copenhagen, where her husband had previously arrived. Heedless of her situation, and forgetting in his displeasure all the debt of gratitude he owed to her for her long course of zeal and fidelity, Eric received her with stern reproaches, telling her that women had nothing to do with arms, that she had usurped improper authority in public affairs, and that she was responsible for the loss of the unfortunate men who had fallen in her rash enterprise¹. In the delicate condition of the queen, her husband's violent exasperation was doubly distressing. "A tender, pregnant woman," says a contemporary chronicler, "may be greatly injured by even a fierce countenance²;" but if we are to believe several Danish historians of considerable authority, the ill-treatment inflicted on Philippa was not confined to harsh looks, nor even to harsh words. Eric actually descended to personal violence, and beat her severely³.

The distressed excitement of the queen brought on a premature confinement: her infant was born dead, and the cup of maternal joy which, after years of disappointment, she had hoped at length to taste, was thus suddenly dashed from her lips by one whose sympathetic feeling should have led him, at such a time, to shield her with jealous tenderness from everything that might blight their future hopes. Eric himself was severely punished for the violence of temper he had displayed, since it sacrificed the only hope he ever had of an heir to his dominions.

The illness of the queen was long and dangerous. At length she rose from her couch of weakness, but it was with a spirit crushed and blighted. The loss of her infant, and the sorrow occasioned by her husband's unkind-

¹ Beringius, *Flor. Dan.*, p. 575.

² *Pet. Olaus, Langebek Script.*, vol. i., p. 141.

³ *Messenius, Scand. Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 52; vol. xii., p. 122. *Holberg, Dannem. Hist.*, p. 565.

ness preyed deeply on her mind, and she was perpetually haunted by the remembrance of the unfortunate sailors to whom her ambitious designs had proved so fatal.

Sick in body, oppressed in spirit, and weary of the coarse and dissolute manners of her husband, Philippa felt her life of royal wretchedness to be insufferable; and she retired to the monastery of Wadstena, there to bury her grief in the silence and seclusion of the cloister¹. Two splendid crowns, studded with precious gems, which she had worn in the days of her queenly honour, were brought by Philippa to Wadstena, and in her will, made a few days after her arrival, she bequeathed them to the monastery, well resolved that the regal diadem should never again glitter upon her brows².

The recent sufferings of the queen had proved too much for her constitution to withstand; and scarcely had she become domiciled in this quiet seclusion, than she sank under the pressure of rapid decline. The tidings of her danger were conveyed to the king, and at once roused him to a sense of the magnitude of the loss with which he was threatened. He flew to Wadstena, eager to atone for his fatal folly³; but returning tenderness came all too late. Queen Philippa expired on the 5th of January, 1430⁴; and the love which, had it been lavished upon her a few months earlier, might have preserved a life so

¹ Gebhardi, vol. i., p. 664. Messenius, Scand. Illust., vol. iii., p. 52, vol. xv., p. 72. Kranzius, p. 184. Rym. Cronik., p. 182. Joan. Loccen., p. 122.

² Epit. Chronol. Scand. Messenius, Scand. Illust., vol. xv., p. 79. These crowns were taken away in 1453 by King Charles Canutson, who promised to bestow on the monastery a fair equivalent for them.

³ Messenius, Scand. Illust., vol. iii., p. 52.

⁴ Holberg, Dannem. Hist., p. 565. Reutershusius, Exegesis Hist., sub anno 1429, Ludewig., Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., pp. 121, 129. Fant, vol. i., pp. 66, 96, 283; vol. ii., p. 108. Jacob Alfeld, Danske Historie, 1533-1559, p. 19, speaks of Philippa as dying at Lund, and only taken to Wadstena for interment, but this is opposed to the general testimony.

valuable to him, could now only manifest itself in vain and costly oblations to her memory.

King Eric gave the munificent sum of 1100 nobles to the monastery of Wadstena, for daily prayers to be put up for the soul of Philippa,—added to the church of Colmar an establishment of thirteen canons, whose business should be to offer up similar petitions; and erected several religious edifices and bestowed priestly vestments, plate, and ensigns on many monastic establishments, “for the solace of his own soul, and in memory of his dearest queen, the Lady Philippa¹.” He also confirmed the will of the deceased queen, the main items of which were the bestowal of gifts on Wadstena.

The remains of Queen Philippa were magnificently interred in the chapel of St. Anna, which she had herself founded in the church of Wadstena. The king, with the prelates and nobles of Sweden and Denmark, and all the inhabitants of the convent followed her with tears to the grave; the monks more particularly lamenting her, as “the mother and most faithful protectress of that monastery and all their order².” The tomb which was erected to her memory is still to be seen in the abbey of Wadstena. Instead of the figure of the queen herself being carved upon it, as was customary, there is a rude outline of the crucifixion of our Saviour. At the foot of the cross, on the left hand, is a shield emblazoning the queen’s arms—France and England quarterly; and in the opposite corner a helmet, surmounted by a lion as a crest³. The

¹ Pontanus, p. 590. Meursius, p. 115.

² Fant, Script., vol. i., p. 146. Stora, Rymcroniken. Ibid., vol. i., pt. 2, p. 64. Wieselgren, Gard. Archiv., vol. i., p. 242. Langebek, vol. i., p. 194. Messenius, Scand. Illust., vol. xii., p. 223; vol. xv., p. 72.

³ Archæologia Eliana, letter of W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., to J. Adamson, Esq., published by the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, accompanied by a drawing of the tomb, copied from an original by Abilguard, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen. Wieselgren, Gard. Archiv. from MS., Sepultura et Monumenta, Suecorum Gothorumque Regum.

inscription, evidently written after the deposition or death of Eric, records her name and titles:—"Here lies buried the most serene Queen Philippa, the sweet consort of Eric, formerly King of the Swedes, Bothnians, Danes, and Norwegians, daughter of Henry IV., King of England, France, and Ireland; who died January 5th, 1430¹.

The culpable conduct by which king Eric had accelerated, if not caused, the death of his wife was unsuspected, or at least unnoticed by the court of England. As long as Eric retained his tottering throne, friendly diplomatic relations were maintained between the two countries².

During the period of twenty-six years which she passed as a wife, Philippa "tasted," says Hollinshed, "according to the common speech used in praying for the success of such a match together in marriage—both joy and some sorrow among." Her private life was embittered by the weakness of her husband's character, and by the licentious habits in which he indulged³: these were painfully obtruded upon her daily notice, since one of her maids of the bedchamber, named Cecilia, was the object of Eric's attention, and became his acknowledged mistress very soon after the death of the queen⁴. On the other hand, the deference which the king paid to her counsels, the consciousness of the beneficial influence

¹ Rhyzill, *Monasteriologia Suiogoth*, p. 102. Philippa was not the only royal personage buried at Wadstena. It contains also the tombs of the wife of Frederic I. of Denmark, and of the Queens Ulrica, Eleanora, and Catherine.

² Henry VI. spoke of Eric as "his dearest uncle, the King of Denmark," and sent an embassy to Denmark to renew his alliance with him. *Devon's Pipe Rolls*, p. 389. *Reedtz, Reper. des Traités*, p. 45. *Pell Rolls*, vol. iv., p. 438. *Nicolas' Privy Council*, vol. iv., pp. 71, 208. *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. 4, p. 167; vol. v., pt. 1, p. 6. *Mallet*, vol. iv., p. 119.

³ Olaus, *Magnus de Gent. Septent.*, p. 197. *Fant, Script.*, vol. ii., p. 123.

⁴ *Gebhardi*, vol. i., p. 665. *Messenius, Scand. Illust.*, vol. xii., p. 223.

which, through him, she exerted in so large a sphere, and the warm affections of her subjects, who appreciated that influence, alleviated her trials. To the pupil of the power-loving Queen Margaret, who had so largely imbibed her spirit, such homage presented many compensating attractions. Philippa “the mother of her people¹,” as she was called, was deeply lamented by all classes. “All, with one voice, mourned her fate, and celebrated her as a most excellent princess, possessing strength of mind and other virtues beyond her sex².” Their regret for her was enhanced as the lapse of time developed the fickle injustice which characterised the conduct of their sovereign, when her judicious counsel was no longer at hand to guide and restrain him³.

In the course of a few years, the misgovernment of Eric so irritated his subjects that they rose against and deposed him; and setting aside the Pomeranian duke, whom he had nominated to succeed him, they elected in his place Christopher of Bavaria, son of his sister Catherine, by John Earl Palatine and Duke of Bavaria⁴. On the death of Christopher, in 1448, the treaty of Calmar, by which the three northern kingdoms had been united for more than half a century, was revoked, and Charles, the son of Canute Bonde the nearest male heir, was called to the crown of Sweden⁵; whilst Christian of Oldenburgh was elected King of Den-

¹ Beringius, p. 576. Meursius, p. 115.

² Pontanus, p. 590. See also Mallet, vol. iv., p. 118.

³ Some writers speak of his conduct in terms so extreme as to be beyond credibility; asserting that his wars were chiefly undertaken to get rid of his own nobility whom he detested, and of whose slaughter in battle he heard with great delight; that he was stained by perjury, rapine, tyranny, and treachery. They detail a list of crimes so long and dark as to place their perpetrator almost beyond the pale of humanity. *Hist. Regum Daniæ*, Lindenbruch, 4to., Lugd. Bat., 1705, p. 47. Olaus Magnus, *ut sup.*

⁴ Langebek, *Script.*, vol. iii., p. 553.

⁵ Bridget, the sister of this Charles, was the ancestress of the house of Vasa, which gave to Sweden one of its most brilliant lines of kings.

mark¹. The former pursued the deposed King Eric to Gothland, whither he had retreated with all his treasures, accompanied by the mistress to whom he was so greatly attached. In this corner of his former dominions he had hitherto maintained a sort of piratical sovereignty. But he was compelled to yield it up and to retire to Rugenwald in Pomerania, the place where he had passed his early days, before the visions of regal ambition were unfolded to his hopes. There, a helpless dependant on the charity of others, the old man had ample leisure for penitence over the sins of his past career, and he is said to have led a quiet and God-fearing life, spending the greater part of his time in chanting and prayers in a cloister of Carthusian monks². He thus dragged on a lonely and remorseful existence for more than eleven long years, and died in 1549, having survived Philippa upwards of twenty-nine years³.

We are tempted, even at the risk of some slight repetition, to close this memoir with the following spirited and eloquent sketch of Queen Philippa, translated from a

¹ Mallet, vol. iv., p. 206, &c. Gebhardi, vol. ii., p. 686.

² Cramerus, Hist. Ecclesiast. Pomeraniæ, book 11., p. 121. Several interesting documents referring to the latter part of Eric's life are published in the Danske Magazin, vol. i., pp. 222, et seq.

³ Joan. Loccen, p. 135. Pontanus, p. 605. Meursius, vol. iii., p. 318; vol. xv., p. 81. Ludewig., Reliq. MSS., vol. ix., pp. 121, 132, 173. Fant's Script., vol. i., p. 20. Hist. Reg. Dan. Lugd. Bat., 1629, p. 153. Gebhardi, vol. ii., p. 686. Pontoppid., Danske Atlas, vol. i., p. 240. Rittershusius, Exeg. Hist. The addit. MS., 5243, contains a series of pen and ink drawings of the sovereigns of Denmark. Margaret, her son Olaus, and Eric are amongst the number; each portrait is subscribed by a Latin stanza; that of Eric is as follows:--

“Regnorum mihi sceptris trium matertera liquit;

Liquisset sceptris si animumque parem!

Quod quia non factum, tandem tribus excidi regnis,

Coactus patriâ vivere sede senex.”

“My aunt bequeathed me the sceptres of three kingdoms. Would that with the sceptres she had left me a mind competent to them! But as she could not do this, I am at length exiled from my three kingdoms, and forced in my old age to live in my paternal country.

rare Danish work¹. It testifies the reverend homage paid to the memory of the queen in her adopted country.

“Let us pause with wonder and love at an unsung name², which would eclipse Zenobia or Semiramis, if virtues and merits did not experience the same injustice in the temple of memory as in that of fortune.

“Noble Philippa! do I rightly praise thee when I affirm that, under the delicate shape of graceful womanhood, thou didst hide a soul of manly courage, prudence, and steadfastness. Do we, as men, still dare to appropriate to ourselves all nobility and excellence, now that barbarism no longer determines the merits of human beings by the strength of the body? Is it because Providence assigns a prop to weakness, or because opportunity develops the powers of woman, that a weak and unintelligent man is so often found conducted by a bold and prudent help-mate?”

“Such good fortune had Eric XIII., King of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Raised to the throne by his aunt Margaret, he found, when no longer upheld by her hand, a happy support in his wife Philippa, daughter of King Henry IV. of England. Whilst Eric, in an unjust and unfortunate war with Holstein, sacrificed the prosperity of his country and his own honour, the queen took care of the internal government of the kingdom, travelled to Sweden, deliberated with the council there, silenced discontent, and fascinated all hearts. During his useless journey to the Holy Land, she was regent for three years, and she acquired for this dignity the distinguished honour which gave its name a splendour surpassing royalty—that of the people’s love.

¹ It is written by Herr Franzen, and published by Doctor Jens Kragh Host, in his Miscellany entitled “Politik og Histoire,” 12mo., Kiöben., 1821, vol. iv., pp. 14—21.

² “Here the author, Herr Franzen, is in error. The Danish poet Pram has twice sung Philippa, and both times in a manner worthy of her name.”

“When the king deceived his subjects by a false coinage, deprived them of their property, and crushed all commerce, the queen ordered a new coinage to be made, settled its value by a treaty with the Hanse towns, with which all Swedish commerce was transacted, and restored the pulse of the state to a healthful and even course.

“But this wonderful woman was not only a wise regent in peace, she was also a heroine in war. A hostile fleet of 260 sail, with an army of 12,000 men, fitted out by the Hanse towns, attacks Copenhagen. The affrighted king conceals himself in a monastery; the people behold with trembling the impending danger, which threatens to stop up Denmark’s most frequented haven, to destroy its fleet, to plunder its capital, perhaps to change it into smoking ruins.

“Confusion in the streets—terror in the houses—despair in the weak—irresolution in the strong—shrieks amongst the women and children;—such is the melancholy aspect of the town: all is deemed lost. Then like an angel of battle, steps forth the young and beautiful Philippa, with a sword in her hand, before the inhabitants, and beckons them on to the fight. She summons them to defend their ships, their city, their houses and property, their wives and children. She reminds them of their former bravery, their ancient love for their fatherland, and in a moment she assembles a troop of young, new-created heroes who, with invincible boldness, attack the foes, and chase away the danger. On one and the same day, she hails, at a joyful feast of victory, her delivered people and their humbled king.

“But can humility reach so base a heart as that which the king displayed, when he rewarded the deserts of his incomparable queen with an almost barbarous harshness. Fired with a noble zeal entirely to restore quiet to the kingdom, Philippa wished to complete her victory, to

curb the pride of the insolent Hanse towns, and with one blow to bring the war to a conclusion. In the absence of the king, she equipped, at her own cost, a fleet of seventy-five sail, which should retaliate upon Stralsund the same danger which, the year before, had impended over Copenhagen. The harbour of Stralsund had seen its vessels disappear in flames; balls and stones had laid their city waste, and Philippa would have beheld her ships return with honour from a fortunate expedition, but her wisdom could not foresee the caprices of the winds; her prudence could not conquer nature. Detained by a contrary gale, her fleet was attacked by the foes, who had found time to strengthen themselves. It was defeated, and escaped home with the loss of eighteen ships. However moderate this damage may be considered, compared with the advantage of the preservation of Copenhagen, the king on his return home was so incensed about it, and his wrath broke out in so wild a manner, that he laid violent hands upon his spouse, the illustrious queen; this occasioned a premature accouchement, whereby he became the murderer of his own unborn infant. Philippa's tender and noble soul was unable to bear ingratitude so gross, and cruelty so base. With just resentment, she abandons a throne which she had propped up by her courage and prudence, she withdraws from the world where she had played so brilliant a part,—though less influenced by ambition than by the desire to benefit humanity; she hides herself in the monastery of Wadstena, for which still abode of undisturbed devotion and solitary virtue she had long had an especial regard.

“After having filled the most important stations in the world, corrected the errors of an infatuated king, and contributed to the happiness of millions, she wished in that tranquil solitude to prepare herself for a higher destination in heaven. Her probation was not long: she

was already ripe for a better world. She died a few weeks after her entrance into the monastery.

“Does my enthusiasm render me unjust when I give utterance to the suspicion that her death was the consequence of Eric’s fury? for her noble and great soul dwelt in a body but delicate and slight.

“Too late repentance is the useless virtue of the weak. To atone for his crime against his amiable consort, Eric presented a considerable sum of money to the monastery of Wadstena. Yet his sorrow was not so deeply rooted, but that he soon forgot it in the arms of Cecilia, a maid of the bed-chamber to his wife. When Philippa was no longer there to guide him, when his guardian-angel was vanished from his side, he hastened with blind rashness towards his fall; and soon, from dominion over the whole north, a third part of Europe, he became a pirate in Gothland, and at last a dependant upon charity, in Pomerania.

“Immortal shade of an adorable queen! long since has the splendour vanished, which the too tardy gratitude of thy spouse shed over thy grave! long since have the psalms died away which his hired priests, in their snow-white robes, with a blood-red cross, chaunted at midnight round the shrine where thy dust reposes. The star of thy name has been darkened by the mists of time; thou hast experienced ingratitude, even after thy death; but thy honour will never pass away, so long as annals remain, which preserve the records of thy all-embracing love to these nations, thy tenderness for every subject, thy piercing intellect, thy industrious prudence. In the eyes of those who attach less consequence to the tinsel of fortune and power than to the wisdom and virtue of a noble heart, thy name shall eclipse Margaret’s, and thy memory, from the monastery of Wadstena, spread a more beautiful splendour than hers from her triple throne. But even

should thy name be forgotten in the state, should no memorial record thy virtues, no bard sing thy heroism, still thy memory will not die in the cottage of the Swedish warrior in Holstein, whom thy humanity consoled in the sorrows of an unhappy war; nor in that of the Swede who, dragged from his fatherland to an useless campaign, suffered the dreadful misery of hunger; and, at last, cast upon the shores of Saltholm and Barsebeck, would have miserably perished by nakedness and want, hadst not thou, with active tenderness, like an angel from heaven, brought him unexpected preservation."

Such is the testimony of a modern Danish writer. The name Philippa has long been endeared to England, by the high-souled virtues of the queen of Edward III.; and enough has been said to convince the reader that her spirit, as well as her name, was inherited by her great-grand-daughter,—the Princess Philippa.

MARY,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF EDWARD IV.

CHAPTER XII.

Position occupied by daughters of Edward IV.—Eldest daughter, Elizabeth, afterwards queen—Birth of Mary—Baptism—Passed early years at Shene—Rebellion in favour of Henry VI.—The Queen and her children take refuge at Westminster—Remove to the Tower—Attack of the bastard of Falconbridge on London—Appeal to the king from the mayor and aldermen—Defeat of Falconbridge—Domestic habits of Prince Edward—Mary a second candidate for marriage with the Dauphin of France—Conditional legacy left her by her father—Mary present at the re-interment of Richard of York—and at the betrothal of her brother Richard—Proposals for her marriage with Frederic I. of Denmark—Death of Mary—Corpse conveyed to Greenwich—List of mourners—Funeral procession to St. George's chapel—Interment—Prince of Wales present—Funeral expenses—Discovery of her coffin in 1810.

THE daughters of King Edward IV. occupy an unusual position in the chain of regal biographies of which they form a part. Instead of filling foreign thrones, or possessing a foremost place among the great and the noble of their own land, they were, during the reign of their father's successor, not merely treated with slight consideration, but purposely withdrawn, as much as possible, from public notice. Henry VII. also, notwithstanding his marriage with the eldest of these princesses, has been accused of behaving with neglect and contumely towards his wife's sisters. This charge does not seem well founded. The royal maidens shared the diversions of his court, and assumed in all state ceremonies the position to which their rank entitled them. Henry even attempted to negotiate alliances for two of them with princes of royal blood, and though these failed, they were actually married into the noblest families of the realm. On one point alone he seems to have been jealous of them,—he carefully avoided any recognition of

their claims as being in the line of succession to the throne, because the allowance of those claims must have stamped usurpation upon his own pretensions, even though it could not invalidate the rights of his children by Elizabeth of York; and the Tudor monarch could not brook that his heirs should be supposed to inherit in right of their mother, rather than of their father.

The Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., and rightful heiress to the throne, which she only shared as queen-consort, is without the pale of this series of memoirs, since she was not merely a *princess*, but a *queen* of England¹.

We commence, therefore, with the second daughter, the Princess Mary. She was born in the month of August, 1466, at Windsor², and was shortly afterwards baptized; Cardinal Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other noble persons acting the part of sponsors. She was nursed with her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who was sixteen months her senior³, at the palace of Shene⁴, and their mother, Queen Elizabeth Woodville, had a grant from the royal exchequer of 400*l.* per annum, for the expenses of the two princesses⁵. Their governess was Margaret, Lady Berners, and a notice which occurs of the knight of the trencher, page of the chamber, &c., in constant attendance upon them, proves that their household was kept up with much state⁶.

¹ As such she has already been memorialized by Miss Strickland, in an interesting biography which comprises nearly all that historic or antiquarian research has hitherto discovered relating to a lady who forms so important a connecting link in the royal genealogy of England.

² Hearne's William of Worcester, vol. ii., p. 510. See also a paper in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1831, pp. 24-5, by Sir Frederic Madden.

³ Cont. Hist. Croyland, Gale's Scriptores, vol. i., p. 317.

⁴ Queen's of England, vol. iv., p. 3.

⁵ Close Roll, 8 Edw. IV., m. 13. Fœdera, vol. v., pt. ii., p. 165. Issue Roll, 9 Edw. IV., Easter. 4000 marks had previously been assigned to the queen for her personal expenses. *Hearne's Liber Niger Scaccarii*. p. 501.

⁶ See note 2 p. 402.

When but a few years old, Mary, with the rest of the royal family, was exposed to imminent peril, owing to the rebellion raised in favour of Henry VI., by the Earl of Warwick. The queen, accompanied by many of King Edward's friends, fled with her three daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster, where they remained for more than half a year, uncertain whether a palace or a prison was to be their ultimate destination, whilst the authority of the restored King Henry appeared to be firmly established¹. At length the return of Edward IV., at the head of an army, and his favourable reception by the Londoners enabled the queen and princesses to remove with safety, first to the residence of the Duchess of York, and thence to the Tower. There the king left them, in seeming security, in the keeping of the Londoners, whilst he fought the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, which effected the utter overthrow of the Lancastrians.

Even at the moment of victory, however, an unexpected peril awaited the queen and her children. The bastard of Falconbridge, with an army of 16,000 or 17,000 men, the relics of the Lancastrian party, hastily advanced to London, and demanded admittance. This was refused by the mayor and aldermen, who, "with right great instance, moved the king in all possible haste to approach and come to the city, to the defence of the queen, then being in the Tower of London, my lord prince, and my ladies, his daughters, and of the lords, and of the city, which was likely to stand in the greatest jeopardy that ever they stood; in consideration had, for that great number of the persons within the city were rather disposed to have helped to have such mischief wrought than to defend it²."

The king no sooner heard of the danger of his wife and children than he prepared a "notable and well-chosen fellowship" of 1500 men, who hastened to London, to defend the city and the royal family; they were speedily

¹ Fabyan's Chron., p. 658.

² Fleetwood's Chron., Camden Society, edited by J. Bruce, Esq., p. 33.

followed by the king in person, who defeated Falconbridge, and put an end to the long and bloody struggle¹.

The family of Edward IV. seem to have been educated with unwonted care and attention; and, if we may judge of the early training of his daughters by the regulations to which his young son was subjected, we shall entertain a favourable idea of the moral as well as intellectual discipline exercised over them. In a curious collection of household ordinances, published by the Society of Antiquaries, we find the rules for the government of Prince Edward, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V; among which, the following are worthy of notice. He was to rise early in the morning, and attend matins; great decorum was to be observed at this early service, during which no interruption could be allowed: any one coming in late was doomed, on the day of such irregularity, to content himself with a dinner of bread and water, and he who wilfully absented himself, underwent a similar punishment, the first time he appeared at dinner or supper. Matins ended, the prince was to take breakfast, and afterwards to be occupied in such "virtuous learning" as his age allowed; then dinner, at ten o'clock, excepting on fast-days, when it was postponed an hour; the afternoon to be employed in learning, or in recreations, for "eschewing of idleness;" supper, at four o'clock; evening retirement, at eight. During meal-times, such noble stories were to be read before him as it behoved a prince to understand, and all conversation in his presence was to be of "virtue, honour, cunning, wisdom, and deeds of worship." Nothing that could in any way excite him to evil was to be named before him; no words of ribaldry, swearing, or backbiting to be used by any of his household; the gates of his abode to be shut at nine in winter, and at ten in summer².

¹ Fleetwood's Chron., ut sup.

² Collection of Household Soc. Antiq., 4to., Lond., 1790, Ordinances, pp. 27-33.

In the event of the death of her elder sister Elizabeth, the Princess Mary was named as second candidate for a proposed alliance with Charles, dauphin of France, son of Louis XI¹., but the marriage was never fulfilled.

Edward IV. appears to have set his heart on his daughters contracting alliances suitable to their rank,—an anomaly not uncommon in those who have themselves married below their position;—for a portion of 10,000 marks which he left his daughter Mary by his will was only to be given on condition of her being “ruled and governed by the queen,” in case of his death, and not marrying without her mother’s advice and consent, “so as she be thereby disparaged².”

The princess is named as being present at the re-interment of her royal grandfather, Richard, Duke of York, which took place in 1476, when his corpse was conveyed from its ignoble resting-place at Pontefract, to Fothering-gay Castle, in Northamptonshire³. In 1478, Mary was a spectatress of a more pleasing scene, when her juvenile brother, Richard of York, was plighted to the Lady Anne Mowbray⁴. Beyond these brief notices, no records of her

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. v., p. 67. Louis XI., following the usual political doctrine of expediency, complied with the exigencies of the time, and recognized the right of Edward IV. to the English crown, although he was the cousin of Queen Margaret of Anjou, and had but recently proclaimed a three days’ holiday, and ordered processions with masses in all the churches for the delivery of Henry VI. from prison, and declared his determination to support him as he would himself. *Archives Historiques*, vol. xiv., p. 683.

² *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, *Introduct.*, p. 33.

³ Sandford, p. 391, speaks of this ceremony as taking place in July 1466; but his statement carries its own confutation with it, for he speaks of two daughters of the king as present and making their offerings, whereas only one was then born, and she at that time an infant. He mentions, moreover, Monday, as being the 29th of July, a coincidence that did not occur in 1466, but in 1476; on reference to the MSS. in the College of Arms, quoted by Sandford, it appears that one account of the ceremony is there misdated 1466, but the other bears the true date, 1476.

⁴ A curious account of the ceremonials connected with this marriage is printed from one of the Ashmolean MSS. in “*Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*,” edited for the Roxburghe Club, by W. H. Black, Esq.

personal history are preserved. The confused and imperfect condition of the pell rolls and other state records of the reign of Edward IV., owing to the political commotions which so long prevailed, and the rarity of more private accounts leave us entirely to the mercy of the chroniclers for domestic details; and their writings are occupied with more important subjects than the doings of junior members of the royal family.

In the year 1481, proposals were made for a marriage between the Princess Mary and Frederic I., who had recently become King of Denmark on the death

The infant bride was entitled "Princess of the Feast," and although only five years old, was escorted by the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, placed at the head of the first banqueting table, and made to give her largesse to the heralds, who proclaimed her style and titles in due form. The marriage took place on the 14th of January; and on the 18th, jousts in honour of it were held at Westminster. The whole royal family and many foreign ambassadors were present, and not the least distinguished spectator was "my lord of Richmond," afterwards Henry VII. The courses were gallantly run with spear and sword. At the close of the jousts "the Princess of the Feast," with all estates of ladies and gentlewomen, withdrew them to the king's great chamber in Westminster; the "high princess of the feast" had there her minstrels, and all ladies and gentlewomen, lords, knights, and esquires fell to dancing merrily. Then came the kings of arms to announce to the "Princess of the Feast," on whom devolved the duty of bestowing the rewards of the tourney, the names of those whose valour had merited them. The child who received this chivalric homage being so young, the Princess Elizabeth had been appointed to assist her, and a council of ladies was held to consider the share each should take in the ceremony. The prizes were golden letters A, E, and M, the initials of Anne, Elizabeth, and Mowbray, set in gems, and were delivered to Elizabeth by the kings of arms. Clarencieux presented the A, set with a diamond, saying, "Right high and excellent princess, here is the prize which you shall award unto the best joustier of the jousts royal." Norroy similarly presented her with the E of gold, with a ruby, for the best runner in harness, and March, with the M of gold, with an emerald, for the best swordsman. The first prize was then delivered by Elizabeth to her young sister-in-law, who, with her assistance, gave it to Thomas Fynes, the first of the successful competitors, on which the kings of arms and heralds cried out, "O yes! O yes! O yes! Sir William Truswell jousted well; William Say jousted well; Thomas Fynes jousted best; for the which the princess of the feast awarded the prize of the jousts royal, that is to say, the A of gold to him, quoth Clarencieux." The other prizes were given with similar ceremony. *Illustrations of State and Chivalry*, pp. 30, 39, 40, and *Introduction*, pp. x., xi.

of his father, Christian; this suitor was five years her junior¹. The negotiation had not proceeded far, when it was broken off, in consequence of the declining health of the princess². Mary was spared the calamities which befel the rest of her family by an early death in the year 1482: she expired on the Thursday before Whitsunday, May 23rd, in the sixteenth year of her age.

This was not the first filial bereavement that had visited King Edward and his queen: their infant daughter, Margaret, had died ten years before; but her death in the first year of her life was a small trial compared with the loss of her sister, at an age full of hope and promise.

The body of the Princess Mary was not embalmed, but tightly enveloped in multitudinous folds of cere cloth, and placed in a leaden coffin which was rudely ornamented with the moulding of a human head³. On the Monday subsequent to her decease, the corpse was conveyed in state to the church at Greenwich, and a dirge chanted by Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich. The following morning a second service was performed by the same bishop in the presence of Story, Bishop of Chichester, the Lord Dacre, the queen's chamberlain, Lord Dudley, Lord Beauchamp, the Dean of Windsor, the king's almoner, the master of the rolls, and of Garter and March, kings at arms, who came to preside over the ceremonies. The lady mourners were the Lady Grey de Ruthin⁴, the queen's sister, Lady Catharine Grey, Lady Strange, Lady Dacre, wife of the chamberlain—who, from being styled the lady-mistress, was probably the governess of the young princess,—Mis-

¹ It is singular that no traces of this matrimonial treaty are to be found in the *Fœdera*, although it is named by Sandford and by several chroniclers.

² Habington, *Hist. of Edw. IV.*, fol., Lond., 1706, p. 479. Hubner's *Genealogies*, vol. i., table 95.

³ Lyson's *Berkshire*, p. 471.

⁴ Anne Woodville, married to George Grey de Ruthin, son and heir of the Earl of Kent.

tress Cicely Leslie, Mistress Clifford, and other gentlewomen. Whilst the corpse remained in Greenwich church four wax tapers were kept constantly burning round it. After the morning service, the mourners proceeded to the palace to dinner: they then returned to the church, whence in the afternoon a mourning chariot, adorned with the arms of the royal maiden in lozenges, and drawn by horses trapped with sable, conveyed her remains to the burial-place of her royal race in St. George's chapel, Windsor.

The funeral train, advancing towards Kingston-upon-Thames, was met by the inhabitants in procession, at a distance of more than nine miles from the town. There they tarried for the night. The following morning, mass was sung by the Dean of Windsor: the mourners presented their offerings, and the train set forth again, but with increased state; twenty or thirty poor men, holding lighted torches, walked by the sides of the hearse, and over it was carried a regal canopy, borne at the four corners by "four of the best gentlemen of the country." In every parish through which the procession passed, excepting that of Wandsworth, the people came forth, clad in mourning, to meet the corpse. As they approached the foot of the bridge near Eton, they were joined by the mayor of Windsor, with his brethren and neighbours, and many wardens, attired in white livery, some bearing torches, some tapers, and some wax candles. At the gate of Windsor castle, the procession of the college of Eton came up, and those of the other parishes respectively gave place and took their departure. The coffin was then removed from the hearse, and reverently borne to the choir of St. George's chapel. Some of the ladies retired to the house of the dean to partake of refreshments; but those who had best loved the royal girl remained about the coffin to indulge their sorrow. The young Prince of Wales, her brother, now made his appearance: the dirges were chanted once again by the Bishop of Chichester, and the

coffin was borne to its final resting-place at the south-east end of the chapel; Prince Edward following it as chief mourner. "And so," says the herald from whose account these details are given, "she was buried by my lord her brother. On whose soul God have mercy;—and on the morrow she had her masses¹."

The sum of 16*l.* was reimbursed to one of the knights of the royal household for monies lent by him towards Mary's funeral expenses²; and 25*l.* 4*s.* were paid to a London draper, for the sables provided for her burial, and that of her grandmother the Duchess of York³.

In 1810, when part of the royal vault at Windsor chapel was opened to prepare a place for the interment of the family of George III., the coffin of the Princess Mary was discovered and opened. The body, from being entirely excluded from the air, was found to be in excellent preservation⁴.

¹ From a MS. marked I. 11, in the College of Arms, fol. 21, headed the "Interment of the Lady Mary, daughter to King Edward the iiiijth," Sandford gives a very curtailed account of the funeral, taken from this MS., in his *Genealogical History*, p. 418.

² Teller's Accounts, 22 Edw. IV., Easter. This is the only mention on the Pell Records of any one of the daughters of Edward IV., excepting a few entries on those of the earlier years in behalf of the Lady Elizabeth; these latter are chiefly important as elucidating the important and hitherto unnoticed fact that, previous to the birth of her brother, Elizabeth of York bore the title of "my Lady Princess," involving in it a recognition of her right to the succession. On Thursday, December 1st, 1468, 50*l.* were given in part payment of a salary of 100*l.* a-year, granted by the king to Margaret, Lady Berners, for her attendance about the person of "the *Lady Princess*." On April 28th, 1469, Stephen Middleton and John Dene, and other pages of the chamber of "the *Lady Princess*" received each 20*l.* for their good and faithful services for three years. 60*l.* were given, the following May, to Richard Hawly, Esq., "trencher of the king's dearest daughter, the *Lady Princess*, who, for the space of three years, had exercised his said office without wage."

³ Devon's Pell Rolls, p. 505.

⁴ Lyson's Berkshire, p. 471. *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. iii., pp. 3, 4.

CECILIA,
THIRD DAUGHTER OF EDWARD IV.

CHAPTER XIII.

Birth—Removed to Westminster—Proposal for her marriage with Prince James of Scotland—Betrothal—Marriage indentures—Cecilia receives the title of Princess of Scots—Portion left her by her father's will—Embassy from Scotland—James III. invades the English borders—His brother, the Duke of Albany, goes to England—Plots against James favoured by Edward IV.—Cecilia promised to Albany—He abandons his scheme of usurpation—Fresh disputes between him and King James—Death of Albany and of Edward IV.—Portraits of Cecilia—She attends the re-interment of the Duke of York, and the marriage of her brother Richard—Ambition of the Duke of Gloucester—Queen and princesses take refuge at Westminster—Plan for escape of the princesses—thwarted by King Richard—Rising of the Tudor party defeated—The queen and her daughters leave sanctuary—Kindly treated by King Richard—Betrothal of Cecilia's *fiancé*, Prince James, to Anne de la Pole—Landing of Henry of Richmond—Married to Princess Elizabeth—Cecilia carries Prince Arthur at his baptism—Attends her sister on her coronation—John, Lord Wells, among the spectators—His parentage—Upholder of the Tudor interest—Restitution of the Wells' estates by Henry VII.—John created viscount—Married to Cecilia—She and her husband join the Christmas festivities at Greenwich—Gifts on New Year's day—Domestic life of Cecilia—Birth of two daughters—Penmanship of Cecilia and her sister—Lord Wells accompanies Henry VII. to France—Petition for the entailment of the Wells' estates on Cecilia—Lord Wells attends the funeral of Queen Elizabeth Woodville—Death of Cecilia's eldest child—Illness of her husband—His death—Funeral ceremonies—Procession to Westminster—Death of Cecilia's second child—Marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with Catharine of Aragon—Cecilia train-bearer to Catharine—Bridal entertainments—Death of the queen—Cecilia absent from her funeral—Marriage with Thomas Kyme—Nothing known concerning him—Conciliatory petition to King Henry touching the property of the late Lord Wells—Mention of Thomas Kyme in the petition—Locality of his family—Two children said to be born to Cecilia after her second marriage—Hardynge's allusion to her—Obscurity attending the latter part of her life—Her death—Interred at the Abbey of Quarrera.

THE third daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, was born in the latter end of the year 1469.

No chronicler records the date when this child was ushered into the world; but in October, 1474, her father speaks of her as being four years of age¹, and as her brother, Prince Edward, was born on the 1st of November, 1470, the time of her birth may be determined with tolerable precision.

Cecilia was scarcely a year old when she was first conveyed by her mother to the sanctuary at Westminster, on the outbreak of the Lancastrian rebellion of 1470, alluded to in the preceding memoir; but the cloud that thus early overcast the horizon of her destiny speedily disappeared, and she was restored to her former position as daughter of the legitimate and recognized sovereign.

Before the princess had completed her fifth year, a proposition was made for her union with the young Prince of Scotland, James, son of James III.² The proposal, originating on the part of the Scottish monarch, was gladly accepted by King Edward, whose tottering throne stood in need of such support as a friendly neighbour could afford. Nominally the compliance of the English king was elicited by a laudable desire for peace between the kingdoms. In the preamble of his reply, he says—“Time, the enemy of the human race, is not permitted so great power in causing perilous dissensions, but that the benignity of the Omnipotent can and will, at his good pleasure, infuse on the other hand the grace of concord and unity; so, very recently, it has been granted that a discourse and treaty of reconciling love and friendship have taken place, after many wars waged by our predecessors, between us and the most serene and illustrious prince, our dearest cousin, James, King of Scotland.” King Edward goes on to pledge himself to accord with what shall be arranged by his ambassadors, concerning the marriage between his younger daughter Cecilia, and Prince James³.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. v., pt. III., p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³ Privy Seal Bills, 14 Edw. IV. *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 45.

The royal children on whose behalf these arrangements were entered into, with much detailed formality, were then only of the respective ages of two and four years: yet on the 26th of December, 1474, the ceremony of public betrothal took place at Edinburgh, by proxy; David Lindsay, Earl Crawford, officiating as procurator for the infant bridegroom, and John, Lord Scrope, for the young bride. In the presence of an assembly of nobles and public notaries called to witness the validity of the act, these two lords took each other's hands and gave the necessary pledges for the future fulfilment of the contract¹. The same day the marriage indenture was published at Edinburgh: it opens with a long dissertation on the blessings of peace and tranquillity likely to accrue to the realms, countries, and subjects, of this noble isle called Great Britain, after the long-continued troubles, dissensions, and debates between the two realms composing it; arranges the prorogation of the truce already commenced to the year of our Lord 1519, and further suggests that "the most convenient and next mean" for a permanent peace is a union "betwixt James, the only and first-begotten son and heir of the right high and mighty prince, James King of Scotland, and Cecilia, youngest daughter of the right excellent and mighty prince, Edward, King of England." The indenture, which is written in the vernacular Scotch of the period, then proceeds as follows—"Item—as touching the said marriage, which is thought to be the very root and establishment of all the love, favour and assistance that the one party shall owe unto the other, it is advised, appointed, accorded, and concluded, that forasmuch as the said prince is as yet but tender constituted and being in the second year of his age, the said princess also of the age of four years, so that neither of them may make contract

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. v., pt. iii., pp. 47-8.

of matrimony nor of espousals in their persons, the said kings, fathers to the said prince and princess, shall be bounden in the most lawful, honourable, and sure means and form, either of them to the other, to the intent and effect as followeth. First, the said King of England shall promise and oblige himself to do and procure, as far as in him shall be, that his youngest daughter, called Cecilia, in such goodly and convenient time, after that she and the said son and heir of Scotland shall be at their lawful age to make the band of matrimony, or within six months after at the farthest, shall be assured unto the said young Prince James, son unto the King of Scotland that now is, and with him make and perfect the contract of matrimony, the same to be solemnized, within the said time, after the form and by the authority of holy church. Item—in likewise, the said King of Scotland shall promise &c.,”—here follows a similarly worded pledge.

“Item—it is appointed, accorded and concluded that the said princess shall have in dower and joint feoffment, all and whole the lands, rents and revenues pertaining to the old heritage of the prince, son and heir of Scotland, during the lifetime of his father; that is to say, the duchy of Rothesay, the earldom of Carrick, the lordships of the Stewart lands of Scotland, with all accomodations, profits, and appurtenances of the same; and if it happen the said prince to be king, or his mother decease, and the dowry that the queen hath, not *void* (vacant), she shall have the third part of the property, lands, and rents, pertaining to the king her spouse, or else an equivalent portion of the third part of the said property, lands, and rents, at her pleasure and desire; and what time that the dowry, pertaining to the queen that now is shall happen to be void, she shall, if it please her, have the same; renouncing and giving up the dowries assigned to her before.”

The English monarch, on his part, agreed to pay the

sum of 20,000 English marks, as the portion of his daughter; 2000 within three months from the date of the indenture; 2000 during each of the two subsequent years; and then 1000 annually until the whole should be discharged. In case of the death of either of the children, any future son of King James was pledged to marry some other daughter of King Edward, if he had one to bestow "within three or four years above or beneath the age of the same son and heir;" for which the same terms and indentures should suffice¹. Deputies from the two kings were appointed to meet at Berwick, at the concerted times, to pay and receive the dower instalments, which were discharged with great punctuality².

Cecilia now adopted the title of "Princess of Scots³," by which she was designated for some years. In a will made by her father, bearing date June 20th, 1475, he gives orders that, "for the marriage of our daughter Cecilia, for whom we have appointed and concluded with the King of Scots, to be married to his son and heir," 18,000 marks should be paid by his successor, in addition to the 2000 he had himself already paid, "considering that the said marriage was, by the advice of the lords of our blood and other of our council, for the great weal of this our realm, of our heirs in time to come, concluded;" but should the marriage fail of accomplishment, the money was to revert to the king's heirs, reserving only a portion for the princess whenever she did marry⁴.

In 1481, when Cecilia had completed her twelfth year, the Scotch king became pressing for the conclusion of the marriage. "In this very season (1481)," says Hall,

¹ *Fœdera*, ut sup., pp. 48-51. Privy Seal Bills, 14 Edw. IV. An English version of this indenture, in a contemporaneous hand, occurs in *Cotton. MS., Vesp. C. xvi., f. 67*, and another in *Vitell. C. xi., f. 70*.

² *Fœdera*, ut sup., pp. 53, 55-6, 68, 75. *Miscel. Excheq. Documents*, 2nd series, Nos. 2521, 2522, Chapter House.

³ *Gent.'s Mag*, 1831, pt. i., p. 44.

⁴ *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 369, 370.

“James the iij. of that name, King of Scots, sent into England a solemn embassy for to have the Lady Cicely, King Edward’s second daughter¹, to be married to his eldest son James, Prince of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, and Earl of Carrick. King Edward and his council, thinking that this affinity should be as well honourable as profitable to the realm, did not only grant to his desire and demand, but also beforehand disbursed certain sums of money to the only intent that the marriage should hereafter neither be interrupted nor broken; upon this condition that if the said matrimony, by any accidental means, should, in time to come, take no success nor perfection, or that King Edward would notify to the King of Scots or his council that his pleasure was determined to have the said marriage to be infringed and dissolved, then the provost and merchants of the town of Edinburgh should be bound for the repayment of the said sum again. All which things were with great deliberation concluded and sealed, in hope of continual peace and irrefragable amity².”

But the hope of lasting “amity” was speedily turned aside, at the very crisis upon which hinged the destiny of the Princess Cecilia. James III. of Scotland was a monarch “more wedded to his own opinion than reason scarce would bear,” and “would neither hear nor give credit to them that spake against his own phantasy.” He neglected his nobility, and promoted favourites of mean birth to be his counsellors. Finding that the French king was inclined to trifle with Edward IV., and break off a proposed union between the dauphin and the Princess Elizabeth of York, James followed the example of his infidelity, and made a hasty warlike incursion across the borders. For

¹ The second, who survived. Mary is not included in this notice, on account of her early death.

² Hall’s Chron., 4to., Lond., 1809, p. 330. See also Hardyng’s Chron., p. 465. Polydore Virgil., Camd. Soc. edit., p. 169.

this offence he afterwards apologized, and his excuses might have been accepted, had not his brother Alexander, Duke of Albany, whom through jealousy he had thrown into prison, escaped into England just at this juncture, and so wrought upon the mind of King Edward that he resolved to break off all connection with the unworthy Scotch monarch¹. He even lent an ear to the proposals of the duke to dethrone King James, supplant his son, the *fiancé* of the Princess Cecilia, and mount the throne of Scotland².

The principal condition on which the king promoted this scheme was that the duke, who now assumed the title of "Alexander, King of Scotland," should free himself from all other matrimonial contracts, and should marry the young Cecilia. The words of the treaty are—"If the said Alexander can make himself clear from all other women, according to the laws of Christian church, within one year next ensuing, or under, the said King of England, shall give my Lady Cecilia, his daughter, to the said Alexander, and the said Alexander shall take her to his wife³." With such facility did the king transfer in idea the hand of his child from the nephew to the uncle; from the heir apparent to the throne to an adventurer and a married man, whose regal coronet would, in all probability, have to be steeped in a brother's blood before it could encircle his brows. How little did Edward IV. foresee that the project which he thus abetted in another would, after his own decease, be successfully executed against his offspring!

The ambitious schemings of the Duke of Albany were relinquished as hastily as they had been taken up. This

¹ Hardyng's Chron. cont., p. 465. Polydore, Virgil, ut sup.

² Rous., Hist. Reg. Angliæ, Hearne's edit., p. 211. Baringius, Clavis Diplomatica, 4to., Han., 1754, p. 375.

³ Foedera, vol. v., pt. III., p. 121. Scottish Correspondence, vol. i., Art. 15, State Paper Office. Ruddiman's Introd. to Anderson's Diplom. Scotiæ, p. 55.

prince, though rash and daring, was of a generous temper; and although by the assistance of an English army, he was speedily placed in a condition to dictate his own terms to his feeble-minded brother, yet he renounced his ideas of usurping the sovereignty, and contented himself with the appointment of regent, a full pardon for the past and restoration to his estates.

The Scottish people, meanwhile, alarmed by the presence of the English army, which had advanced as far as Edinburgh, pressed for the conclusion of the marriage between young James and the English Princess; but Edward IV. refused to continue the negociation unless the provost and merchants of Edinburgh would pledge themselves to refund all the sums already advanced as the portion of the Lady Cecilia, "in case it be not the pleasure of the most excellent Prince Edward, King of England, to have the said marriage performed and completed." This the parties in question engaged to do. Shortly afterwards, on a fresh attempt being made by King James, endangering the safety of his brother, the latter prince again had recourse to King Edward for support; and Cecilia, who was plighted to the crown of Scotland rather than to the prince who wore it, was again transferred to the Duke of Albany¹. Presently, however, the deaths of the duke, and of the king, her father, transpiring within a few months of each other, changed the current of her destiny².

Two portraits of the Princess Cecilia, taken about this period, when she was in the bloom of girlish beauty, are still in existence among the portraits of the family of Edward IV., on the windows of little Malvern church, in Worcestershire, and on those of the chapel of the Martyrdom in Canterbury cathedral. The former of these is

¹ *Fœdera*, ut sup., p. 127.

² Middlehill MS., No. 20, f. 61.

engraved by Huck, in his work, entitled “*Acta Historica Reginarum Angliæ*’¹.” The features are symmetrical and delicate, but an undue appearance of age is given by a sort of turbaned head-dress, which surmounts the fair young brow of the princess².

Of the proceedings of the Lady Cecilia, during the interval of the Scottish negotiations, the records are brief and unimportant. She was present at the re-interment of her grandfather, the Duke of York, in 1476; she attended the marriage of his namesake and successor, her brother Richard, Duke of York, in 1478; and, in 1480, robes were provided for herself and her sisters, at the festival of the Order of the Garter³.

The festivities of courtly splendour were soon to be exchanged for scenes far different. The death of King Edward IV., and the threatened usurpation of the crown, by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, once more compelled Queen Elizabeth to seek refuge for herself and her daughters in the sanctuary of Westminster. After the

¹ Published in 4to., Lond., 1792, p. 24.

² Schnellebie, *Antiquaries’ Museum*, 4to., Lond. Stephen’s Dugdale, vol. i., p. 353. Nash’s *Worcestershire*, vol. ii., p. 142. In 1822, several of the window-panes were broken, and the queen’s portrait was destroyed, but that of Edward IV. and the princesses remained uninjured.

³ It is singular that on the only occasion remaining on record, in which Edward IV. mentions his daughters consecutively, he places Cecilia before Mary. This occurs in a warrant of indemnification to Piers Courteys, the keeper of his wardrobe, for divers items, including robe of the garter provided for himself, for the queen, for the princes his sons, and for his daughters, Elizabeth, Cecilia, and Mary. It is found in the Harleian MS., 4780, containing the wardrobe account of Edward IV., of which the principal portion has been printed by Sir Harris Nicolas, but this warrant is not inserted in his work. Although this entry would of itself lead to the supposition that Cecilia was older than Mary, yet its authority cannot be considered sufficient to counter-balance that of other records and particularly of documents in the *Fœdera*, which speak of Cecilia, up to the birth of her younger sister Anne, as the youngest daughter, and after that as the *third* daughter of the king.

queen had been persuaded to commit the fatal indiscretion of giving up her younger son into the hands of his uncle, the apprehensions of her partisans became every day stronger, for the royal boys were never seen abroad, and were entirely in the power of the Duke of Gloucester. A plan was therefore concerted that the elder princesses, Elizabeth and Cecilia, should, if possible, make their escape from Westminster, in disguise, into some foreign country; so that, should the gloomy forebodings already entertained respecting the destiny of their brothers be realized, the princesses might still be enabled, by the aid of some foreign prince, to prosecute their claim to the crown, which would then become the lawful inheritance of the eldest¹.

But there were traitors in the council of the unfortunate and forsaken widow: the entire scheme was made known to Richard of Gloucester; and in order effectually to thwart it, he placed a strong guard constantly round the sanctuary; "so that," says a contemporary writer, "the solemn church of Westminster, and all the adjacent region, was changed after the form of a camp and a fortress." John Nesfield, one of the duke's esquires of the body, was appointed captain of this guard, and was charged personally to examine all who came into or went out of the sanctuary, and strictly to watch all the passes, commissioning men of the "strictest severity," to be on guard night and day². By this means, was frustrated the last hope of those who remained faithful to the children of the deceased king.

The declaration of the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV.³, the deposition of Edward V., the coronation of Richard III., and the mysterious disappearance of the

¹ Cont. Hist. Croyland, Gale's Scriptorum, vol. i., p. 567. Miss Roberts' Rival Houses of York and Lancaster, vol. ii., p. 351.

² Ibid.

³ Commynes, who wrote early in the reign of Henry VII., only mentions two daughters of the king as suffering this degradation.

young princes followed in rapid succession; each event adding a fresh ingredient of bitterness to the cup of sorrow shared by the anxious and mournful group within the cloisters of Westminster. Cecilia, now in her seventeenth year, had reached an age when she was able to appreciate to the full the extent of the degradation to which she was subjected. A gleam of hope for a short time shot athwart their dreary path, when Harry of Richmond came forward, and pledged himself, by a solemn oath, taken on Christmas-Day, 1483, at the church of Rennes, to marry the Princess Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, or previous union with another, her sister Cecilia, and to vindicate the joint claim of himself and his wife to the throne of England¹. But the rising of the Tudor party, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, was speedily put down, and a settled gloom seemed to lower more and more deeply over the destinies of the young princesses.

The royal party remained in confinement upwards of nine months, in spite of the repeated entreaties and threats uttered by the king to induce the dowager-queen to leave her asylum. At length, their resolution gave way, under the hardships and restrictions they had to endure in their melancholy seclusion: "messengers, being men of gravity, handled the queen so craftily, that anon she began to be allured, and to hearken unto them favourably²;" and "they began to mollify her, (for so mutable is that sex!) insomuch, that the woman heard them willingly, and finally said, she would yield herself unto the king³." Before he succeeded in persuading the queen-dowager to surrender her daughters

They were, however, all included in the sentence, though the younger daughters might easily be overlooked by a foreign historian. See Commynes' Mem., published by the French Historical Society, vol. ii., p. 241.

¹ Birch MS., 4225, f. 3.

² Cont. Hardyng's Chron., p. 536.

³ Polydore Virgil, Camd. Soc. edit., p. 210.

into keeping so fatal as *his* had already proved to their brothers, King Richard was obliged to take a solemn pledge which secured their personal safety, whilst it sealed their degradation from the rank they had formerly enjoyed. It was couched in the following terms:—

“Memorandum. That I, Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, in the presence of you, my lords spiritual and temporal, and of you, mayor and aldermen, of my city of London, promise and swear, on the word of a king, upon these holy evangelists of God, by me personally touched, that if the daughters of Dame Elizabeth Gray, late calling herself Queen of England—that is to wit, Elizabeth, Cecil, Anne, Catharine, and Bridget—will come unto me out of the sanctuary of Westminster, and be guided, ruled, and demeaned after me, then I shall see that they shall be in surety of their lives, and also not suffer any manner of hurt, by any manner of person or persons, to them or any of them, or their bodies and persons; nor them or any of them imprisoned within the Tower of London, or other prison; but that I shall put them in honest places of good name and fame, and them honestly and courteously shall see to be found and entreated, and to have all things requisite and necessary for their exhibition and findings, as my kinswomen; and that I shall marry such of them as now be marriageable to gentlemen born, and every one of them give in marriage-lands and tenements, to the yearly value of cc. marks, for the term of their lives; and, in likewise to the other daughters, when they come to lawful age of marriage, if they live. And such gentlemen as shall happen to marry with them, I shall straightly charge, from time to time, lovingly to love and entreat them, as their wives and my kinswomen, as they will avoid and eschew my displeasure¹.”

¹ Ellis' Letters, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 149. Harl. MS., 433.

This pledge, concluding with a moderate provision for the queen, is dated March 1st, 1484. Under its safeguard, the royal maidens emerged from their gloomy retreat: they are said to have been received with kindness, and even treated with honourable courtesy by their uncle, who gave them apartments in his palace¹. "He caused," says Hall, "all his brother's daughters to be conveyed into his palace, with solemn receiving; as though, with his new, familiar, loving entertainment, they should forget, and in their minds obliterate the old committed injury, and late perpetrated tyranny²."

The treatment which the daughters of Edward IV. experienced from the hands of King Richard has been the subject of learned discussion, according to the opposite views taken of the character of this monarch. It cannot be imagined, however, that the period of their abode in the palace of the supposed murderer of their brothers, and the usurper of their own rights, could be otherwise than one of melancholy anxiety to those among the princesses, who were old enough to comprehend the peculiarities of their position. The Lady Cecilia, in particular, had the mortification of seeing her former plighted spouse, Prince James of Scotland, betrothed to her cousin, Ann de la Pole, daughter of her aunt, the Duchess of Suffolk³. "Here," writes the chronicler, Hall, "may

¹ Buck's Life of Rich. III., fol., Lond., 1646, p. 127. Cont. Harding, p. 537. Cont. Croyland, p. 570.

² Hall's Chronicle, p. 407.

³ Buck's Rich. III., p. 33. More's Life of Rich. III., 12mo., Chiswick, 1821, p. 186. *Fœdera*, vol. v., pt. iv., pp. 149, 153-4. The marriage negotiations between the royal families of England and Scotland, during the reigns of Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., form a curious episode in the history of matrimonial diplomacy. In the first place, it was proposed that Edward IV. himself should marry Mary of Gueldres, the widowed queen of James II. of Scotland. Next a double marriage was projected between Margaret, widowed Duchess of Burgundy, Edward's sister, and Alexander, Duke of Albany, brother of James III., and also between George, Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, and a sister of the Scottish monarch; a letter from

well be noted, the unnatural love and disordered affection which this kind kinsman (Richard III.) showed to his blood; for he, not remembering the tyranny that he had executed against his brother's sons, the wrong and manifest injury that he had done to his brother's daughters, both in taking from them their dignity, possessions, and living, thought it would greatly redound to his honour and fame if he promoted his sister's child to the dignity of a queen, rather than to prefer his brother's daughter, whom he had untruly, and by force disinherited."

The brother of Anne de la Pole was, on the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Richard III., declared heir presumptive to the throne, with an entire disregard of the claims, not only of the daughters of the late king, but of the descendants of his brother George, Duke of Clarence¹.

It seems pretty clear that it was the intention of King Richard to match the Princess Cecilia with some person Edward IV. to the papal legate on the subject of this twofold alliance is in Cott. MS., Vesp. C. xvi., f. 121, in which he sends thanks to the King of Scotland for the proposal, but adds that, "forasmuch as after the old usage of this *royaulme* none estate ne person honourable communeth of marriage within the year of their *dole* (widowhood) we therefore as yet cannot conveniently speak in this matter. Natheless, when we shall find time convenable, we shall feel their dispositions, and thereupon shew unto him the same, in all goodly haste." The Duke of Clarence and Duchess of Burgundy were both widowed in 1477, which fixes the date of this letter, since the death of the duke took place in February 1478. Next came negotiations for the marriage of the princess Cecilia with James, Prince of Scotland, or with the Duke of Albany, whichever might wear the royal coronet. These being set aside by the death of Edward IV., Richard III. betrothed his niece, Anne de la Pole, to Prince James. Henry VII., on his accession, proposed the union of the dowager-queen, Elizabeth of Woodville, with James III., then a widower—of Prince James, with one of the younger daughters of the late King Edward, Cecilia being already married,—and of her youngest sister, Catherine, with his second son Alexander, Marquis of Ormond. Last of all, the often-proffered hand of Prince James, now James IV., was plighted to the Lady Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. This contract, the only one in the numerous category that was completed, led eventually to the happy union of the sister kingdoms.

¹ Buck's Rich. III., p. 44. Hall's Chron., p. 402.

of very inferior rank. This at least was currently reported, and when Henry VII. landed in England, with the intention of taking her to wife, if he should find her sister Elizabeth married to Richard III., he was confidently assured that she was already so married¹. "At the which thing, Henry was sore amazed and troubled, thinking that by this means all his purpose was dashed, for that there was no other way for him to come to the kingdom, but only by the marriage of one of King Edward's daughters: and by this means also he feared lest his friends in England would shrink from him, for lack of an honest title²."

Whatever may be the opinion of posterity as to the *honesty* of the "title" by which Henry VII. wore his crown, yet after his marriage with the princess-royal, the position of the other princesses was materially improved. They then received the respect and attention due to the sisters of a queen-consort, although any recognition of their independent claims was carefully avoided by the jealousy of the newly-elected king. Cecilia, as the eldest of these royal maidens, was brought more prominently forward than her sisters. She inherited an extraordinary share of the ancestral beauty of her race³, and her personal attractions, and her near relationship to the royal family fixed upon her the regards of the young nobility.

On the christening of her nephew, Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, the Lady Cecilia was appointed to bear the treasured infant to the font: the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Lincoln, both closely connected with the blood royal of England, attended the princess, and her train was borne

¹ "To a man found in a cloud, and of unknown lineage and family," is the expression used by Hall, p. 409.

² Cont. Harding, p. 540.

³ Ibid., p. 472. Cont. Hist., Croyland, p. 563.]

by the Marchioness of Dorset. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the child was again given to Cecilia, who carried him back to the royal nursery, attended by trumpeters and minstrels, and presented him to his parents; when the blessing of Almighty God, of the Virgin Mary, of St. George, and of the king and queen, was solemnly pronounced over him¹.

At the subsequent coronation of Elizabeth of York, which took place on November 3rd, 1487, the queen was attended by her sister Cecilia, who occupied the post of honour next to the Duchess of Bedford, their aunt². The princess, with Lady Bedford, rode in a car immediately following that of the queen; and both in the setting forth of the procession through the city and at the coronation, she was her sister's sole train-bearer. At the coronation banquet, Cecilia and Lady Bedford shared the queen's table with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following day the queen held her *estate* or *levée* in the parliament-chamber at Westminster, when her mother-in-law, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, sat at her right hand, and the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Cecilia at her left. Although there seems every reason to suppose that Cecilia was at this time exclusively a pensioner upon the bounty of her sister, yet she must have been privileged with separate attendance, for it is recorded that in the queen's procession the princess was followed by a car, containing her gentlewomen, who were all attired *en suite*³.

Among the nobility who thronged as spectators at the queen's coronation was John, Lord Wells, heir to the ancient family of Wells, long distinguished for its adherence to the Lancastrian cause, and high in favour with Henry VII. This nobleman was half-uncle to the king, whose grandmother, Margaret Beauchamp, married

¹ Antiq. Repert. vol. i., p. 353.

² Katherine Woodville, widowed Duchess of Buckingham, who married Jasper Tudor, uncle of Henry VII.

³ Leland's Collect., vol. iv., p. 220.

for her second husband Leon, Lord Wells, himself a widower,¹ and became the mother of John, first Viscount Wells, the nobleman in question. Lord Leon was killed whilst fighting in the Lancastrian ranks, in the battle of Towton, and consequently his estates were confiscated. His eldest son, by his first marriage, Sir Richard Wells, fell in the rising of the Earl of Warwick, in 1466, leaving John, his half-brother, heir to the forfeited estates. John was received into favour by King Edward IV; and his name occurs as one of the night-watchers by the body of the king after his decease².

He was present at the coronation of Richard III.³; but this was from reasons of policy and not from inclination, for he actively engaged in every scheme of opposition against that monarch. As half-brother of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry Tudor, Lord John was especially interested in the project of elevating that prince to the sovereignty of England. He took part in the movement headed by the Duke of Buckingham, soon after Richard's accession. On the quelling of that insurrection, he escaped into Bretagne, and joined his youthful nephew at the court of John de Montfort⁴. With him he returned to England in 1485, and aided in the successful revolt which placed the Tudor dynasty on the throne.

These services, together with his near relationship, rendered him a favourite with King Henry VII. who, on his accession, bestowed on him the constablership of two important castles and afterwards several grants of manors, &c.⁵ A petition being made by the heirs male of the Wells family, for a restitution of their estates, forfeited by the act of attainder passed against Richard Wells, it was

¹ The permission for their marriage was given in 1447. *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii., p. 12.

² MS., I. III., fol. 10, College of Arms.

³ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 384. *Archæologia*, vol. i., p. 350.

⁴ *Hall's Chron.*, p. 294.

⁵ Patent Roll, 1 Hen. VII., pt. i, m. 15; pt. ii, m. 1. *Ibid.*, 3 Hen. VII., pt. ii., m. 4. *Ibid.*, 6, mm. 14, 15. *Ibid.*, 10, m. 21.

granted with the following reservation: "That John Wells, knight, brother to the said Richard Wells, now being son and heir unto Leon, late Lord Wells, father of the said Richard Wells and John Wells, enter, have, hold and enjoy, to him and his heirs of his body lawfully begotten, from the 1st day of August last past, all castles, manors, lands, tenements, reversions, and hereditaments which were of the said Leon, late Lord Wells, or of any other, to his use, or of any estate of inheritance, this present act of restitution notwithstanding¹."

Sir John Wells was not only installed in the rank of baron, as enjoyed by his father, but was elevated to the dignity of viscount, though the date of his elevation does not appear².

This nobleman had at length the good fortune to become the brother-in-law of the king by an union with the Princess Cecilia. Some authors represent the marriage as a concerted design of King Henry, in order to keep aloof suitors more illustrious for the hand of the princess who, in case of failure of issue of her sister, was rightful heiress to the crown of England. Fuller, on the other hand, intimates that Henry VII. did all in his power to keep Cecilia in the background, and to prevent her from forming any matrimonial alliance; but that the princess took the law into her own hands, and rather *married* than *matched* herself, by giving her hand to Lord Wells, who, even after so illustrious a union, never attained a higher dignity than that of viscount³. This latter account seems borne out by the expressions subsequently used in a petition to parliament presented by Lord and Lady Wells, in which mention is made of the dower of the Lady Cecilia being provided for, "*upon communication made to the king of the marriage betwixt the said viscount and the said dame Cecil.*"

¹ Parliament. Rolls, vol. vi., p. 286.

² Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii., p. 12. It was between October 15th 1485, and January 4th, 1487, Cf. Patent Roll, 1 Hen. VII., pt. 1, m. 15 and 2 Hen. VII., pt. 1, m. 1.

³ Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii., p. 105.

Of the time and circumstances of Cecilia's marriage no record remains; but it took place some time previously to the December of the year 1487, when the princess and her husband joined the royal party who celebrated the Christmas festivities at the palace of Greenwich. On New Year's day, King Henry, as was customary, dined in state, surrounded by his nobility and officers-at-arms; on which occasion the royal bounty was distributed to the heralds, who acknowledged it by proclaiming aloud the style and titles of the donor. The king's example was followed by the queen and several of the nobility: amongst the latter was the Viscount Wells, who gave the sum of 20s. for himself and his wife; whereupon was announced by the obsequious heralds—"Largesse of the noble and puissant lord, uncle of the king, our sovereign, Count Wells, largesse,"—and again—"Largesse of the noble princesse, sister of the queen, our sovereign lady, and Countess Wells, largesse." At the banquet which followed, the viscount had a place at a table on the right side of the hall, whilst his lady took the head of the table at the left¹.

After this date we lose sight of the princess for some time: she seems to have retired from court and to have resided on the estates of her husband, where, in the discharge of her conjugal and afterwards of her maternal duties, she probably enjoyed a larger share of felicity than could have been afforded to her by the varied fascinations of a more public career. There was great disparity in age between Lord Wells and his lady, the former being more than forty years old, and the latter scarcely twenty, at the time of their marriage; yet a cordial affection appears to have subsisted between them. The fruit of their union was two daughters, the elder of whom was named Elizabeth, in compliment to her aunt, the queen, and the other Anne, after Cecilia's younger sister, Anne,

¹ Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv., p. 253.

Lady Howard. To the nurture and education of these children the time of the princess appears to have been entirely devoted; on several occasions she remained at home, occupied with her nursery cares, whilst her husband was discharging the duties of a courtier by personal attendance upon his royal nephew, who honoured him with frequent tokens of affectionate confidence.¹

The Lady Cecilia may be presumed to have been fully adequate to the superintendence of her children's education. The eldest daughters of Edward IV. had been carefully trained, during their father's life-time, in such learning as fell to the lot of females in those days. Cecilia is recorded to have shared the instructions bestowed upon her elder sister, who, in the rhyming history of Humphrey Brereton, entitled, "The most pleasant song of the Lady Bessy," is thus made to allude to the educational pains bestowed upon herself and her sister in their girlhood. Her speech is in reply to Earl Stanley, who proposes to send for a scribe as her amanuensis.—

"You shall not need none such to call,
Good father Stanley; hearken to me,
What my father, King Edward, that king royal,
Did for my sister, my Lady Wells, and me;
He sent for a scrivener to lusty London,
He was the best in that city;
He taught us both to read and write full soon;
If it please you, full soon you shall see;
Lauded be God, I had such speed,
That I can write as well as he,
And also indite and full well read,
And that, lord, soon shall you see
Both English and also French,
And also Spanish, if you had need."²

¹ He was made master of the forests in Northampton and Lincoln, steward of the lands of the duchy of Lancaster, one of the parliamentary officers to try Gascon or British petitions, &c. *Parl. Rolls, vol. vi., pp. 370, 393, 441, 458, 509.*

² Heywood's edition, p. 11. It will be noted that this extract contains an anachronism. Cecilia is spoken of as "Lady Wells" in a scene laid in the reign of Richard III., at a time when Lord Wells was a fugitive in Bretagne, and before the marriage of the princess. This passage does not occur in the more antique version of the poem in

If the following, one of the only two autographs of the Lady Cecilia known to be in existence, be a specimen of the penmanship of "the best scrivener in lusty London," our opinions of the capabilities of that worthy body will not rank very high; but, in truth, the handwriting of the princess is very different from the precision and regularity of the clerk's hand of the period, and by its uncouth clumsiness gives evidence that the use of the pen was but of rare occurrence with her: the orthography is scarcely more regular than the penmanship.

Thes buke ys myn
Cecyl Wellas
Mistres to y^e quene
grace

The deciphering of the mystic characters is as follows:—*"Thes buke ys myn Cecyl Wellas suster to y^e quene grace."* This autograph is evidently extracted from some book formerly belonging to the princess,¹ as is likewise the other alluded to above, which, within the compass of a few words, presents three variations of orthography. It is thus written:—*"Thys booke ys myn Cecyl Wellas suster to y^e quene²."*

In the year 1491, Lord Wells prepared to accompany Henry VII. on a projected military expedition against France. Before his departure, he made provision for the comfort of his wife, in case of the occurrence of any unfortunate contingency; Cecilia's influence was added to his own in procuring from the king, with the confirmation of

Harl. MS., 367, which in some respects differs materially from the printed edition.

¹ Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. iii., p. 15 b.

² It is in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq. *Royal and Noble Letters*, vol. i., No. 21.

parliamentary authority, the formal settlement of the whole of the restored estates of Lord Wells upon himself, the viscountess, and their children, in order to avoid the expense that would be incurred if the re-instatement were made in the usual legal mode¹. In preparation for the same expedition the king himself made his will, and John Lord Wells was named by him as one of his feoffees².

In 1492, Lord Wells attended the funeral of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, the mother of his wife, but Cecilia was not present. In the course of the few ensuing years, she had the grief of losing her eldest child; but this sorrow was absorbed in another still more intense; in the year 1498, the death of her husband, under peculiarly painful circumstances, left her a widow when scarcely more

¹ The petition is as follows:

"To the king our sovereign lord,

"In the most humble wise sheweth unto your highness your orators, John Viscount Wells, and Dame Cecil, his wife, that where, upon communication of the marriage betwixt the said viscount and the said Dame Cecil, it was promised that the said viscount should make, or cause to be made, a sufficient sure and lawful estate of all the castles, lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, reversions and other hereditaments whereunto the same viscount, by an act of restitution, made in your parliament holden at Westminster the first year of your reign, was restored; to be had to the said viscount and Dame Cecil, now his wife, and to the heirs of the body of the said viscount lawfully begotten; and over this, that the said Dame Cecil shall not be impeached of waste; which estate is not made. And now, sovereign lord, it is so that the said viscount is appointed to attend upon your grace in your voyage royal to the parts beyond the sea. That it may please your highness, for the performing of the said estate, and in eschewing of the great charges and costs that should be to cause the said estate to be made sure, to ordain, enact, and establish, by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said viscount and Dame Cecil shall from henceforth have, hold, and enjoy all the said castles, lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, and other the premises to them, and to the heirs of the body of the said viscount lawfully begotten, and that the said Dame Cecil shall not be impeached of waste.

"Saving to every person other than the heirs of the said viscount, and the feoffees of the same viscount and their heirs, such right, title, and interest as they now have or ought to have if this act had not been made."—*Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi., p. 296. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii., p. 562, A. D. 1491.

² *Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi., pp. 444, 510

than thirty years of age. Lord Wells was attacked with pleurisy, a disease almost unknown in England at that period, and although recourse was had to the best medical advice, yet the ignorance of the physicians increased rather than ameliorated the complaint. Feeling his end approach, Lord Wells so far combated the debilitating effects of disease, even whilst the pangs of death were slowly stealing over him, as to make a will, by which he bequeathed the whole of his property to his wife, during her life-time, and directed that his body should be interred wherever she, acting upon the wishes of the king and queen, and the Countess of Richmond, might think proper¹. Cecilia was an anxious watcher by the bedside of her dying husband: he expired on the 9th of February, 1498.

The circumstances ensuing upon his decease are thus detailed by the herald who superintended the funeral²:—"On Saint Apollyne's Day, the 9th day of February, the year of our Lord 1498, and of the reign of King Henry VII. the thirteenth, at Pasmer's place, in Saint Sythe's Lane³, of London, deceased the noble Lord John, Viscount Wells, uncle to the king, and brother to the excellent princess the king's mother, which had married the Lady Cecil, third daughter to the full noble memory King Edward IV., and sister to the most dread lady the queen; which lady, after the decease of her foresaid lord, incontinent sent the notice thereof to the king, which then lay at Greenwich, by Cutler, learned man in the law, and who was of council with the said viscount in his life-time, to know the king's pleasure, where his grace would have his corpse buried, and how. Then his grace ordained and commanded divers of his council to

¹ Dugdale's Abstracts, vol. ii., p. 13. Nicolas' Testam. Vetust., vol. i., p. 437.

² MS., I. III, fol. 32, College of Arms.

³ So in the MS. In the phraseology of the period, "Pasmer's place" would mean the house belonging to a person of the name or Pasmer, or Palmer. "Saint Sythe's lane," is doubtless St. Swithin's lane, Walbrook, at that time a genteel locality! See Stow's Survey, p. 84.

have a communication upon the same; and on that, his pleasure was expressly to have his body buried at Westminster, in our lady's chapel. First, the corpse was laid on a fair board, on a cold paved floor, with a hearse over it of rich cloths, with four great tapers about it, with candlesticks according; and so lay a certain season, unto time he was somewhat purified. Then was he put in his winding sheet, not bowelled, but wrapped in cered cloth, and so surely cered by the wax-chandlers, and then chested and laid under the foresaid hearse again. And daily there had his service of the ministers of that parish church, until the Friday."

During the interval in which the body thus lay in state, the princess was making further arrangements for the honourable entombment of her husband's remains. It was decided that the funeral procession should go to Westminster by land rather than by water, and that it should be attended by the highest ranks that etiquette permitted to be present; but as the funds of the widowed princess would have been heavily taxed to provide the costly mourning that would be required for the nobility, the estates and lords received intimation to select their own attire, and provide it at "their own pleasure and charge." Four of the lowest mourners, four officers-at-arms, and eight of the king's servants who were present, were habited at the expense of Lady Wells; although, says a contemporaneous record, "it was a great charge to the trapper of the said men—the household servants, the trapping of horses, the chariot, the poor people, the torches, about the hearse, besides the mercer for his velvets, damask, and palls." Cecilia also gave instructions to garter king-at-arms and the other officers, to provide the banners, banneroles, coats of arms, and escutcheons, some bearing her lord's arms and some her own, with the shield, sword, crest and helmet, pencils and badges¹, the

¹ "Certaigne questions and articles made for the en terment of John Lord Wells." MS., I. III., fol. 33, College of Arms

last tokens of this world's honours for one who was far beyond the pale of its glory or its disgrace.

The corpse of Lord Wells was conveyed to its destination with every ceremonial of respect. The Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Northumberland, Derby, Essex, and Devonshire, were present. The friars and ministers of religion with their sacred emblems, the king-at-arms and other officials of state-etiquette, with their paraphernalia of banners and scutcheons, the poor men with hoods and burning torches, the nobility with their sumptuous mourning robes, the relatives, or "the mourners of his blood," as they are pathetically designated, all took part in the funeral train. A solemn knell was tolled by the bells of each parish through which the procession passed. In King's-street, Westminster, it was joined by the Dean of St. Stephen's chapel with his brethren in office: pompous arrangements were made at St. Margaret's church for the reception of the corpse; three hundred tapers, disposed in "notable candlesticks," were ranged between the quire and the high altar; banners and banneroles were displayed; the Bishop of London and the Abbot of Westminster were there, to besprinkle it with holy water; and with great solemnity the body was borne to its resting-place, and the last words of the requiem were chanted over the dead¹.

One daughter still remained to console her widowed mother, but Cecilia was doomed to a third bereavement; this child too was taken from her. The sorrowing mother interred this her last hope at the church of the Austin friars².

Thus rendered doubly desolate, and deprived of all that makes home a place of sunshine, Cecilia seems to have returned to the queen her sister, to seek in her

¹ MS., I. III., fol. 32, College of Arms. An unfinished copy is in Arundel MS., 26, f. 34 b.

² Stow's Survey, 8vo. edit., p. 67.

sympathy a solace for her sorrows. Her grief, however sincere, was not of long duration; but three years after she had donned the sable garb of widowhood, we find her the gayest of the gay, taking a prominent part in one of the most splendid pageants that graced the court of Henry VII., the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with Catherine of Arragon. Cecilia was appointed train-bearer to the princess, and in that capacity, rather becoming a maiden than a widow, she joined the stately procession to St. Paul's Cathedral.

“From the west door of St. Paul's,” says a writer of the period¹, “was made a scaffold railed upon both sides to the quire door, and the rails covered with red worsted, the which scaffold was man height from the ground; upon which the prince and princess went from the said place of marriage into the quire, whom followed my Lady Cecil, sister unto the queen, and bearing the princess' train, being of white satin, and after her followed an hundred ladies and gentlewomen, in most goodly and *costious* array; after which passage of gentlewomen, the mayor next followed with the sword borne before him, and so with his brethren went into the quire, where they sat all the mass-time. Wonderful it was to behold the riches of garments and chains of gold that that day were worn by lords, knights, and gentlemen.”

After the ceremony the whole party went to the bishop's palace, the ladies following in the same order as before. The mayor and his brethren were stationed in the entry of the palace, that they might have the opportunity of beholding the new-made bride. In the jousts that ensued, the Lady Cecilia was in the queen's gallery, with the queen, the princess of Wales, and the other princesses and noble ladies; and at the banquet in Westminster Hall, the next day, she was the first to descend, with her

¹ Chron. Eng., ad anno 1509, Cotton. MS., Vitell. A. xvi., f. 195.

nephew, Prince Arthur, from the raised dais and to perform with him two bass dances ; the spectators consisting not only of the royal family and the chief nobility, but such of the Londoners as had thronged, according to custom, to witness the courtly festivities. At the state banquet which was given on the following Sunday, Cecilia sat with the queen, at the "table of most reputation of all the tables in the chamber."¹

Little more than a year elapsed after these festive scenes, when the destinies of the Lady Cecilia were again overclouded by the death of the queen her sister. The loss of so unfailing a friend and protectress, on whose ready kindness she could ever rely, and whose close relationship gave to the princess a position at court which she could not otherwise expect to hold, was the greatest that Cecilia could have sustained, and it seems to have so overwhelmed her with sorrow, as to have prevented her taking her place at the funeral of the queen, at which both her sisters were present². The mourning garb delivered to her was similar, in the massive folds of its sweeping train, to that assigned by etiquette for the rank of duchess; but Cecilia's name does not occur in the list of mourners. It does not appear that the princess was dependent upon her sister for pecuniary assistance; the only record of money transactions between the sisters being the loan of 3*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* from the princess to the queen in May 1502³. She was, as we have seen, amply endowed by her husband; the fourth part only of her estates comprised four manors with advowsons, &c., and rents from other lands in the county of Lincoln, and in Essex three manors containing 1540 acres of meadow, pasture, or wooded land, with sundry rents from other lands in the same county⁴.

¹ Leland's Collect., vol. v., p. 361.

² MS., I. III., fol. 24 b, College of Arms.

³ Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, p. 12.

⁴ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi., 543. Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii., p. 217.

The tenures by which part of her property was retained are curious. She held from the Duke of Buckingham a manor situated near his castle of Ongar, on condition that she should have the custody of "*le warderstaffe*." For another manor she paid her a rent of 6s. and one pound of pepper per annum: two of her tenants paid, as part of their rent, two capons each; these four capons, are enumerated with great gravity in a legal recapitulation of her revenue¹. If the princess exercised any share of personal supervision over her affairs, she must have had ample occupation for her leisure hours.

The volatile disposition of Cecilia, which made her peculiarly susceptible to strong emotions, tended to render those emotions as transient as they were passionate. Many months had not transpired after the death of the queen, before Cecilia found diversion for her thoughts in preparation for a second marriage. The favoured individual of her choice was Thomas Kymbe, a person of such obscure birth, that research has been hitherto baffled in every attempt to obtain authentic information in reference to him²; a circumstance, which leaves this union without a parallel in the annals of English royalty.

The date of this, as of the previous marriage of Cecilia, is uncertain; but probabilities combine to place it between February 1503, the date of the queen's death, and the January of the following year, the time of the meeting of parliament. At this parliament, Cecilia, in conjunction with Lord Willoughby, and three other persons, who were the heirs male of the Wells estates, presented to the king a petition, affording a curious specimen

¹ Inquis. post mortem, 24 Hen. VII., No. 96.

² Much pains have been taken by searches amongst the inquiries, the wills in the Prerogative Office and in the collections at Lambeth and Winchester, to find information about this person; their entire failure corroborates the opinion that he was from the middle if not the lower ranks of life.

of womanly finesse. Cecilia well knew that Henry VII. would be pleased with any step that would place her in a position beneath his jealousy, and is even said to have chosen her husband on that account, "rather for comfort than credit"¹, yet she feared that her marriage might be made use of as a pretext to deprive her of the dower which she enjoyed as Viscountess Wells, and that the king might feign displeasure at her proceedings, as an excuse for seizing upon her lands. To obviate this contingency, she ingeniously contrived to bribe King Henry, by the present of a small proportion of her revenue, and by the promise of a reversion of the whole for ten years after her death, to leave her in peaceable possession of the remainder. Her petition, after referring to the restitution formerly made of the Wells estates to her late husband and herself, proceeds to ask a repeal of that restitution, so far as concerned four manors in Lincolnshire, of which she requests the king to take immediate possession, with the reservation that the property should return into her hands in case she survived him; but if the king were the survivor, she *generously* offered to him and to his heirs the entire revenues of the Wells estates for ten years after her decease, on condition of their reverting, at the expiration of that term, to the male heirs of the late viscount. The circumstance that these heirs themselves joined in a petition the purport of which was to deprive them of their revenues for so long a period, proves their anxiety to secure for their royal relative the enjoyment of her dower, and also their appreciation of the danger she had incurred of losing it.

The last clause of the petition is remarkable, on account of its reference to the second husband of the Lady Cecilia. The petitioners further pray, "that it be enacted by the said authority, that Thomas Kymbe, and the said Dame

¹ Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii., p. 105.

Cecil, now his wife, and late wife of the said viscount, and all others which have received and taken any issues and profits of any of the premises, and every parcel thereof, or the same occupied or meddled with, by their commandment or the commandment of either of them, since the decease of the said viscount, be not in any wise therefore charged or chargeable, but thereof be quiet and discharged for ever." The petition was favourably received, and the royal assent signified by the subscription, — "Let it be as is desired¹."

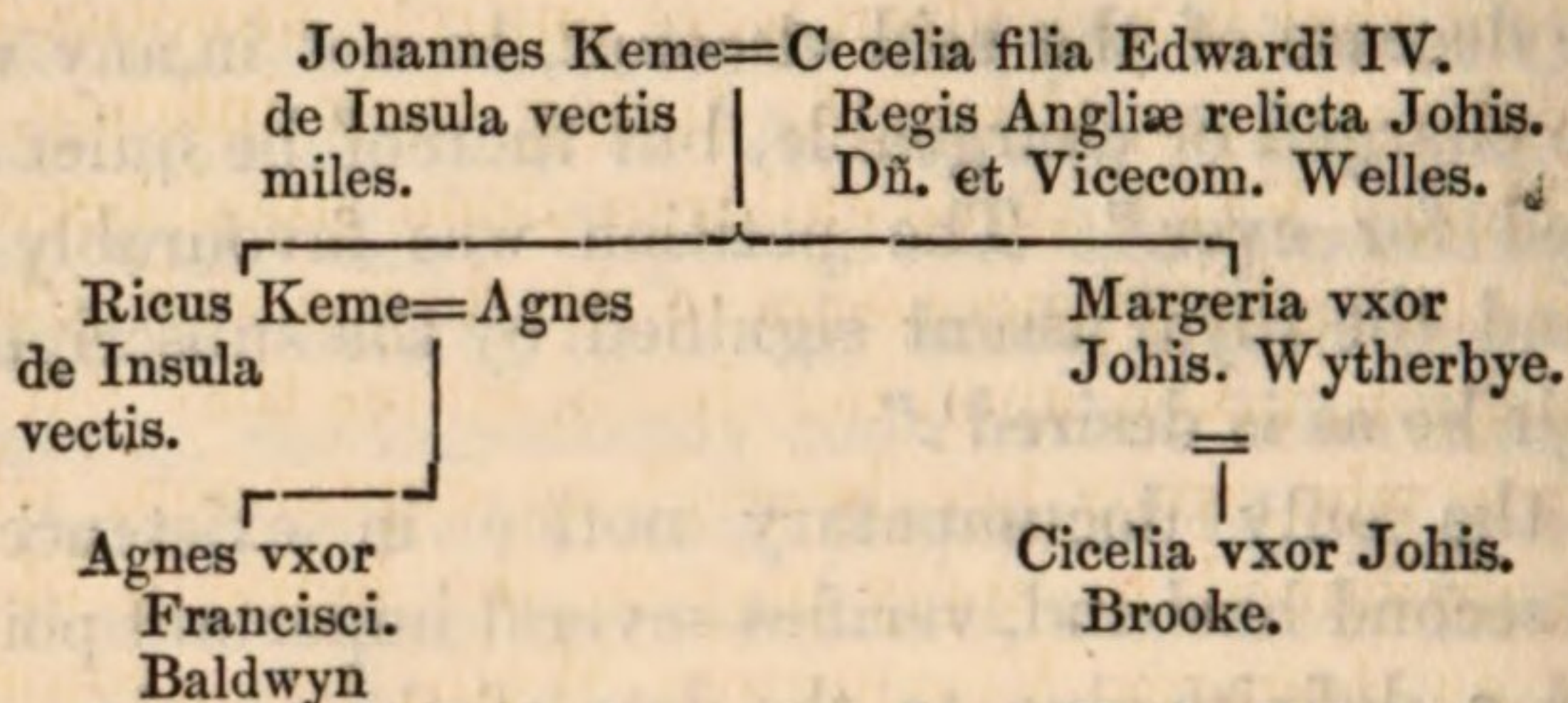
This, the only documentary notice in existence of Cecilia's second husband, verifies several important points. It affords a definite clue to the date of the marriage: it also shows that humble as was the rank of her spouse, the princess admitted him to an equal share with herself in the administration of her estates, since of his sole authority he could exercise control over her revenues. No reference is given to his family, but his Christian name is furnished, a point which has not hitherto been noticed. "One Kyme of Lincolnshire," is the usual term by which this brother-in-law of Henry VII. is designated; the generally received opinion being that he sprang from an ancient family of that name, which from a date coeval with the conquest, had been settled at Kyme Tower, near Boston, in Lincolnshire². We learn, however, from two pedigrees, one in the College of Arms, the other in the Harleian MSS., that the Kyme, who married the Princess Cecilia, was from the Isle of Wight³;

¹ Parl. Rolls, vol. vi., p. 543.

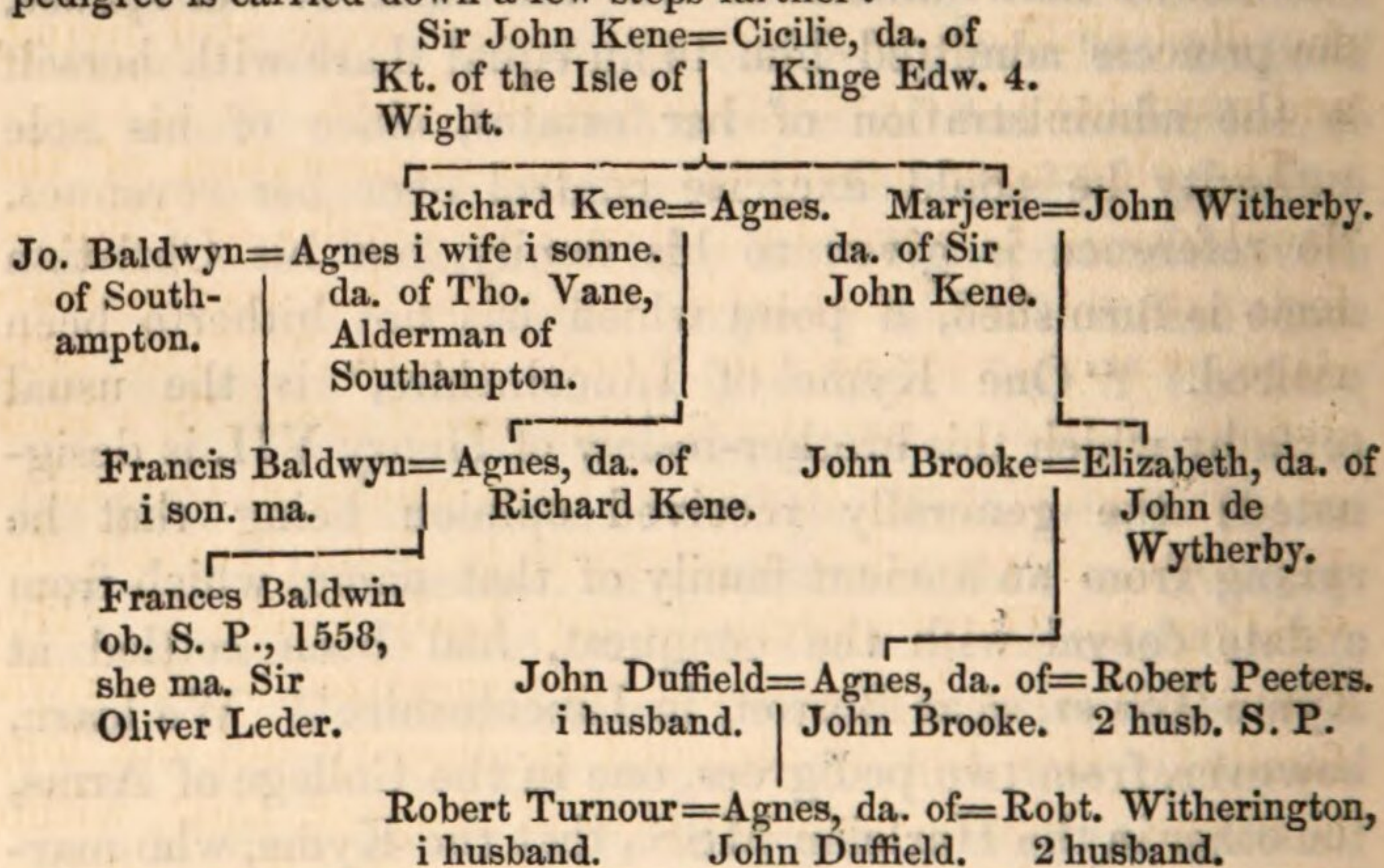
² Hist. Lincolnshire, vol. i., p. 271. The Kyme estates passed by marriage into the family of Umfraville in 1421. The family of the Kymes were the founders of the priory of Kyme; a manor and a river in the county of Lincolnshire bore their name, and through several centuries they were persons of importance. See *Roll of Arms, temp. Edw. II.*, p. 5, by Sir H. Nicolas, *Addit. MS.*, 5843. *Harl. MSS.*, 1484, f. 11 b, and 1150, f. 60 b.

³ Possibly a branch of the Lincolnshire family which had settled there. The former pedigree, for which the author is indebted to the courtesy of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King-at-arms, is as follows:

a statement which receives great additional probability, from the circumstance that Cecilia died in that island; but these pedigrees give John as his Christian name, whereas the indubitable testimony above referred to proves it to have been Thomas.



In the latter, which is copied from Harl. MS., 1139, f. 37, the pedigree is carried down a few steps farther:



This pedigree does not occur in the visitation of Hampshire by Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1576, but was added by Smyth, Rouge Dragon, in his augmented copy of that visitation, made in 1602. It is omitted from the visitation of Philpot, Somerset Herald, in 1622, and from the later visitations, probably because there remained no male heirs of that branch of the family of Kyme, Kymbe, Kime, Keme, or Kene, as the name is variously spelled. A strong incidental confirmation of the authenticity of the pedigree occurs amongst the chancery records. (Bills and Answers, temp. Eliz., B.B. 24, No. 27.) John, the son of Thomas Baldwyn, claims as cousin and heir-at-law the advowson of a church left by Sir Oliver Leder to his wife, Lady Frances, who died without issue. The pedigree names this John Baldwyn as living in 1602, and as the son of Thomas, half-brother to Francis Baldwyn, Lady Leder's father, and consequently her cousin.

We find from the pedigree, that the princess had two children by her second marriage, Richard and Margaret; each of whom was married, and had an only daughter. Other authorities speak of Cecilia as dying without issue, and as being the less noted on that account; from which it is evident that her children were entirely unnoticed by their royal relatives, although, during their infancy, the lives of Henry VII.'s three children alone stood between them and the right of succession to the throne of England! An inquisition, taken upon her death, states that "it was not known who were her heirs;" an expression, which must be presumed to apply only to the heirship of her property, as dowager Viscountess Wells, on account of one portion of which the inquisition was taken; for had she died childless, her younger sisters were still living, and must have been recognized as her heirs.

The chronicler Hardyng, in his enumeration of the daughters of Edward IV., speaks of Cecilia as "not so fortunate as fair," and adds, that after her second marriage, "she lived not in great wealth¹." The only definite notice of her during this period occurs in a book of payments of King Henry VII., in which, on December 11, 1506, is recorded a payment to John Guysell, for "riding to Herefordshire to my Lady Cecily²." Her connexion with Kyme was never recognized by the royal family³. Her life of secluded mediocrity did not long continue. She died on the 24th of August, 1507, within four years after her union with Kyme⁴. The only re-

¹ Page 472.

² Boke of Payments, 21° 22° Hen. VII., vol. A., 6-18, Chapter-House Documents, Rolls House.

³ In the writ of "*diem clausit extremum*," issued by the king on her death, he merely speaks of her as "late wife of John, late Viscount Wells."

⁴ This date is now elicited for the first time, and is taken from the inquisition above alluded to, which is printed in the Appendix, No. X. It occurs also in a patent, by which King Henry granted to Lord Willoughby a remission of the right of the crown to claim the revenues of

maining record, that we find concerning her, is that she was buried at the abbey of Quarrera, in the Isle of Wight¹. At the dissolution of the monasteries, in the time of Henry VIII., this abbey was destroyed for the sake of its materials, without regard to the sepulchres of the many illustrious dead who were there interred. Among the monuments in the chapel that were thus sacrificed, was that of the Princess Cecilia, and, unfortunately, no copy of the inscription or drawing of the tomb remains. She must therefore be dismissed with the hope that in the quiet of private life she found the domestic happiness which had so often eluded her grasp in her early career, and was consigned to a not un lamented, if unhonoured sepulchre.

his share of the late Lord Wells' estate, for ten years after the death of Cecilia, as previously settled by act of parliament. (See page 432, supra.) In this patent the substance of the inquisition is recapitulated. Patent Roll, 24 Hen. VII., pt. 1, m 3.

¹ The buildings of the monastery are almost demolished; only the refectory or common hall remains entire, and it now serves the purposes of a barn. *Sir R. Worsley's Isle of Wight*, p. 177. *Mudie's Isle of Wight*, p. 194.

MARGARET,

FOURTH DAUGHTER OF EDWARD IV.

CHAPTER XIV.

Birth—Date—Monument.

“A.D. 1471,” says a contemporaneous chronicler, “was born my Lady Margaret, and died young, and is buried at the altar end, afore St. Edward’s shrine at Westminster¹.” The true date of her birth, as recorded in the inscription formerly traceable on the margin of her tomb, was April 10, 1472: she died on the 11th of December following, after a brief existence of eight months. A small altar tomb of grey marble, placed between the tombs of Edward III. and Richard II., contains the ashes of the princess; it is supposed to have been removed thither from some other part of the church. The top was originally decorated with monumental figures cast in brass, and the verges with inscriptions which have been wantonly torn away². A Latin quatrain inscribed on the tomb is preserved—as prosaic an epitaph as could well have been composed;

“Nobilitas et forma, decorque tenella juvenus
In simul hîc istâ mortis sunt condita cistâ—
Ut genus et nomen, sexum, tempus quoque mortis
Noscas, cuncta tibi manifestat margo sepulcri.”

“Nobility and beauty, grace and tender youth are all hidden here in this chest of death. That thou mayest know the race, name, sex and time of death, the margin of the tomb will manifest all to thee.”

¹ Addit. MS., 6113. Gent. Magaz., 1831, p. 24.

² Brayley’s Westminster Abbey, vol. ii., p. 104. Account of Kings and Queens buried at Westm. Lond., 1600.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.—*See page 45.*

The following letters were sent from the prince to the Earl and Countess of Gloucester on the subject :

A Monsieur Rauf de Mahermer, Counte de Gloucestre e de Hertford, saluz e chers amistez.—De ceo, sire, que vous estes desirous de savoir bones noveles de notre estat, si come vous nous avez maundé par vos lettres, vous savom molt bon gré, e vous fesom à savoir que nous estoioins sainz e en bon estat du cors, Dieu merci, quant cestes lettres furent faites, desirantz de savoir de vous ceo meismes. E de ceo que vous nous avez si bonement abaundonné vos biens, vous mercions, molt chièrement, et vous feisom a savoir que notre seigneur le roy notre père ne se tient mie à si mal paye de nous come aucunes gentz par aventure vous ount fait entendaunt, kar il voet e ad comaundé que nous eoins du soen largement ceo que mestier nous est. Totes voyes vous prioms que vostre estat, le quel Dieu face toutz jours bon, nous voillez mander, le plus sovent que vous pourrez, en bone manière. Notre seigneur, &c. Donné, &c.”—*Ut sup.*, (21 *July*).

Item significatum est dominæ comitissæ Gloucestriæ quod dominus regraciatur sibi de eo quod dedit domino res suas et sigillum suum, et quod non est ita secundum quod datum est ei intelligi, quod dominus rex stabilivit tam durè contrà eum; nam ordinavit et voluit quod id quod necessarium sibi est habeat ad sufficienciam: et quod dominus remittit sibi sigillum suum per Ingelardum de Warle clericum, cui traditum fuit ipsum sigillum, sub sigillo domini xxj. die Julij, in camerâ archiepiscopi, apud Lambethe in presenciâ domini W. de Leyburne militis, Rotherici de Ispaniâ Willelmi de Melton et multorum aliorum. Et memorandum quod sigillum illud tradebatur primo eodem die ibidem, non consignatione, et dominus cancellarius statim signavit illud sigillo domini.—*Roll of Letters of Edward Prince of Wales, Chapter-House.*

NUMBER II.—*See page 46.*

Edward, &c., à noble homme sun trèscher frère, Monsieur Rauf de Monthermer, Conte de Gloucestre e de Hertford, saluz,

et chers amistes.—Cher frère ieo ai bien entendu le maundement que vous nous avez maundé, e molt nous plerroit, e graunt ioie aurons que notre chère soer feist la volenté de notre cher seignur le roy notre père et la votre; kar ceo seroit sun honur e son profit e le notre, e de tous ses amis; e de la distance qui est par entre vous e lui et nous, nous ennoions molt: e vous savez bien la volenté notre seigneur le roy, e son comandement, e nous somes seur que vous le frez en si curtoise manière e en si bone come vous pourrez, à savoir son honur e votre. E molt nous plerroit que elle se portast en tiele manière que feist à la volenté Dieu, e a'l honur de lui e de vous, et de tous ses autres amis, e doint Dieu que ensi soit. E vous savez ceo que vous est a faire par reson. Notre seignur vous garde. Donné souz, &c., ut sup.—(*Langley, 30 May.*)

A Monsieur Rauf de Mohermer, Counte de Gloucestre e de Hertford, saluz.—Par ceo que vous oez volontiers bones noveles de notre estat, vous fesoms à savoir que nous estoions seinz e en bon point de corps, Dieu merci, quant cestes lettres furent faites, la queu chose nous desirons molt à savoir de vous. E de ceo que vous nous avez requis par vos lettres que nous ne voilloms crere Richard Pouncyn marchand, de nulle novele qu'il nous vodra dire pour vous gréver, vous fesons à savoir que nous ne crerrons lui ne autre, de nul mal qu'il nous dirront de vous; mais saurioms graunt maugré à tous ceux qui mal de vous nous dirront. Notre seigneur, &c. Donné souz, &c., (*29 June*).

Dominæ Johannæ, Comitissæ Gloucestr.

Saluz e chers amistes: Très chère soer, nous avoms bien entendu ceo que vous nous avez maundé par vos lettres, e nous poise de la grefoure qu'il yad entre notre très chér frère Monsieur Rauf de Mounthermer, Counte de Gloucestre, e de Hertford votre seigneur e Monsieur Bridowe de Wyhermond, sicome est contenu en vos dites lettres; e sur ceo dirroms notre volenté e notre avise à notre dit frère le counte vostre seigneur, quant nous parlerons à luy. E voudriom molt que le dit Monsieur Bridowe se portast en tiele manière envers notre dit frère le count qu'il luy douast encheson e volenté de luy pardonner son mal talent. Très chère soer, nostre seigneur vous gard. Donné &c., ut sup., (*24th October*).

A Madame Marie, fille, &c., de par Edward, &c., saluz e chers amistez.—Pur ceo, chère soer que nous avom entendu que Wautre Sayer e Richard de Lutegar furent compaignons en marchandises fère, e avoient un vallet qui fust ove eux q'om appelle Richard le Loveras, qui marchanda ove lur biens e nous

eoms entendu que le dit Wautier Sayer est a Dieu comaundé, vous priom especiaument que le dit Richard le Loveras voillez suffrir de rendre bon aconté e loiall au dit Richard de Lutigar, compaignon le dit Wantier, issint qu'il puisse avoir droit, solenc la loy de la terre, e nous vous en saurions grant gré. Kar nous lui sumes tenuz par l'amur Johan Pynnok notre cher vallet, qui est sun frère en ley. Nostre seignur vous garde. Donné souz notre privé seall le darrain (*dernier*) jour de Mai.

This letter evidently refers to some unpaid debt of the princess which should be discharged before the merchant could prove his accounts "good and loyal." See *Princesses of England*, vol. ii., p. 421.

A noble dame, ma Dame Marie, sa très chère soer, de par Edward son frère saluz e chers amistez. Très chère soer, nous vous prioms que vous voillez requere par vos lettres le priour e le covent de Bath, qu'il voillent acomplir la requeste que nous leur avoms fait pur le *fiuz* (fils) notre cher Bachelor Sire Johan de Weston, par l'amur de nous. Très chère soer, notre seigneur, &c. Donné, &c., à Bray, le xiiij jour de Septembre.

A ma Dame Marie, sa très-chère soer, &c.—Très chère soer, nous vous prions que vous ne preignez à mal que les toneux de vyn que nous vous devons envoier pour le covent, ni les orgues que nous vous avoms promis ne vous sont uncore venuz. Car nous avoms maundé à Lundr pour les vyns, e nuz gentz nous (disent) qu'il ne pount si bon vyn trover encore à vendre, come nous y vodrioms envoier, et les orgues feismes venir à Langele e feurent depescez encheminant ; e nous les avons fait redrescer, e vous vendront molt procheynement. Très chère soer, notre seignur, &c. Donné, &c., au park, &c., le xxv jour de ce Septembre.

NUMBER III.—See page 46.

A noble dame, ma dame Marie, &c., ut supra.—Très chère soer ; nous avoms bien entendu coment vous avez requis notre Seigneur le Roy notre pière qu'il nous voille doner congé de venir à vous à Ambresbury, e il le nous ad graunté à votre requeste, de quoi nous vous mercions chèrement : mais pour ceo que le tens du parlement se approche ia, e nous ne savoms quele houre notre dit seignur e père nous vodra maunder de venir à lui, si ne nous osoms mye esloigner des parties où nous sumes, quant à ore—par quoi nous vous prious, très chère soer, que vous nous voillez tenir pour excusé, de ceo que nous ne venons à vous à ceste foiz. Très chère soer, notre seignur vous gard. Donné souz, &c., à Bray, le xiiij. jour de Septembre.

NUMBER IV.—*See page 47.*

A noble dame sa très chère soer, ma dame Elizabeth, countesse de Holland, de Hereford, e de Essex, de par Edward son frère saluz e chères amistez. Bèlé soer, pour ceo que nous sumes molt tenuz à notre chère cosine, ma dame Maud de Mortimer, du chastel Richard, de la aider en sa graunt busoigne, e pour l'amur notre chère dame e mère, que dieux assoille, qui la marya en cest pais, vous prions especiaument ausi, come vous estes tenuz de le faire, que vous aidez à prier notre seignur le roy notre père qu'elle puisse avoir justices assignés, le plus en haste que hom pourra, en bone manère, pour lui, e pur ses gentz, pur oir e terminer ; c'est à savoir Monsieur Rauf de Sandwyz, eonestable de la tour, e Monsier Johan de Banquell. Car nous avons entendu que Monsieur Roger Brabanzon e Monsieur Pierres Malore, devaunt que la chose feust comencé, sont chargés de par notre seigneur le roy d'autres busoignes, en quoi il auront assiez a faire jusqu'après la Seint Michel. E ceo seroit trop long temps d'atendre à notre dite cosine e à ses amys en le meschef en quoi il sount. Donné souz, &c. Ut sup. (10 August).

NUMBER V.—*See page 186.*

Thus, as above related, died the good Count Louis, at the battle of Crecy, in Ponthieu. But he left behind a very handsome son, wise and of good address, called Louis, who was at that time in the keeping of King Philip of France ; and there had been already, by means of that king, a marriage treated of, between him and the daughter of Duke Wenceslaus, of Brabant, on condition that the said duke should altogether abandon the alliance of King Edward of England. Then went the young *damoisel* Louis into his country of Flanders, where he was received and well obeyed by his subjects, in all that concerned the payment of the revenues of his earldom ; but the Flemings would by no means be of the party of King Philip. In those days, King Edward left the siege of Calais, where he had now been for the space of three months, and came with a small company to Ghent, and immediately afterwards assembled the commonalty of the city, and very urgently entreated them that Louis, their young lord, would take to wife Isabella, his daughter, for the better confirming of their alliance. To this request the Flemings agreed easily, and without the consent of their lord, and they concluded upon the day for confirming the marriage.

Then returned King Edward to his siege before Calais. And I know not how many days after, the Flemings told their lord the conventions they had made with King Edward of England

for the good of his person and of all his earldom of Flanders. But he answered that he would never agree to it, and that, by God's good pleasure, he would never ally himself with those who had slain his father.

When the Flemings had heard the answer of their lord, they guarded him better than they had done before, and told him that he should never leave their hands till he had fully consented to this marriage ; and told him how a day had been agreed upon when the King of England was to come to Berghes, St. Vinoc, to accomplish all. Moreover, King Edward came from his siege at Calais to Bruges, and thence to Berghes, on the day when the Flemings had appointed him ; and the Flemings there led their lord as prisoner, and by force made him agree to marry the young Lady Isabel, daughter of the King of England, and appointed a day at Easter next ensuing to do and accomplish this. Then King Edward returned to his siege before Calais, and the Flemings had their lord constantly guarded by a large number of attendants, that he might not escape to return to King Philip.

The young Count Louis of Flanders had in his company two knights from the city of Ghent who kept him, along with some commoners, and the young count came to a private understanding with the young knights. And the young count pretended great willingness to keep the feast for the espousals ; yet the Flemings did not leave off having him guarded very diligently, day and night. Then it happened that one day Count Louis, in absence of the two knights, requested his guard to take him out to hawk, who easily acceded, without speaking of it, or taking other counsel. And as some young esquires were amazed at the flying of the birds, the young Count Louis let go a falcon which he held, and pretended to go after it, so that he was soon at a distance from his guards, who incontinently followed him. And he diligently pricked his good horse with spurs, till he came to the banks of the river to a pass called the ford of Fiennes, and at this ford he found the two knights who had taken him in keeping, who were waiting for him there, provided with ten or twelve horses each. So they mounted him at once on a good courser, and set him to cross the water, so that by means of their horses, they were speedily over ; and his guards who were on foot soon began to suspect, and when they came to the banks of the river, they durst not pass it, so returned in great doubt and anger.

As you may understand, the young Count Louis, who was surnamed the Bad, escaped from the hand of the Flemings, and was led to King Philip of France by the two knights aforesaid, of whom one was named Master Louis of Uvalle. and the other Master Roland of Pongues ; and King Philip was very joyous

at the return of the young count; but the knights aforesaid, Master Louis and Master Roland, were held in such indignation by the Flemings, that they never afterwards durst show themselves in their country again.

At this time, and soon after the taking of the city of Calais, by the King Edward of England, as has been related, the young Louis, Earl of Flanders, took to wife, Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Brabant; at which the King of England and the Commons of Flanders were much displeased. However, after the said marriage, the Flemings meddled not for a long time in the war^s of the two kings.—*Anciennes Chroniques de Flandres*, Cotton. MS. Nero, E. iii., p. 219—224.

NUMBER VI.—See page 216.

De conductu.—Johannes Cauchoiz habet litteras Regis de conductu ad partes Franciæ, versus dilectum filium Regis Comitem Bedeford, in negotiis ipsius Comitis, cum duobus vallectis, tribus equis, & sex leporariis in comitivâ suâ, ac harnesiis suis, transeundo, ibidem morando, et exinde in regnum Angliæ redeundo, usque ad primum diem Junii proxime futuri duraturas. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxvij die Februarii.—*French Roll*, 51 Edw. III., m. 6.

De conductu.—Rex per litteras suas patentes, usque ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ proxime futurum duraturas, suscepit in salvum et securum conductum suum Johannem Potier, servientem et nuncium Isabellæ filiæ Regis, Comitissæ Bedeford, eundo versus partes transmarinas, pro quibusdam urgentibus negotiis, præfatam filiam Regis tangentibus, ibidem morando, et exinde in regnum Angliæ redeundo. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, ix die Aprilis.—*Ibid.*, m. 4.

De conductu.—Bonifacius Morice et Jacobus de Parmes, attornati Ingelrami de Coucy, Comitis Bedeford, et Isabellæ uxoris ejus, filiæ Regis carissimæ, habent litteras Regis de salvo conductu et protectione, versus partes Franciæ, in negotiis ipsorum Comitis et Isabellæ, per dominium et potestatem Regis, tam per mare quam per terram, cum duobus famulis, et quatuor equis, transeundo, ibidem morando, et exinde in Angliam redeundo, usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis proxime futurum duraturas. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xix die Junii.

Per ipsum Regem, nuncio Nicholao Carren.

Ibid., memb. 1.

NUMBER VII.—See page 220.

Pro Isabella Comitissa Bedford Amita Regis.—Rex Omnibus ad quos, &c., Salutem. Sciatis quod cum Dominus Edwardus

nuper Rex Angliæ avus noster per diversas litteras suas patentes, dederit et concesserit carissimæ amitæ nostræ Isabellæ, filiæ dicti avi nostri, dum ipsa sola fuit, Maneria et Hameletta de Brustwyk, Bondebrustwyk, Skekkelyng parva, Humbre, Kayngham, Cleton, Skipsee, Outhorn, Wythornesee, Lelle, Dyke, Elstanwyk, Burton, Pydsee, Preston, Sprotlee, Hedon, Pauleflete, Skestelynge, Kylnesee, Esyngton, et Ravenser; ac omnia alia terras et tenementa quæ idem avus noster tunc habuit in partibus de Holdernes, in comitatu Ebor'; necnon omnia terras et tenementa, et totum dominium, cum pertinentiis, quæ idem Avus noster habuit in villa de Barowe in comitatu Lincoln'; ac etiam Maneria de Cosham, Mersheton, Meysy, et Ludgarshale, in comitatu Wiltes'; ac Maneria de Wedon, Pynkeney, in comitatu Northt', et Careswelle, Swalwefeld, Benham, Spene, et Hampstede Mareschal, necnon duo Mesuagia, duas carucas terras, quadraginta acras prati, et viginti acras bosci, cum pertinentiis in Holbenham et Westbrok, in comitatu Berk; Maneria de Saldon, Weston, et Yestele, ac omnia alia terras et tenementa quæ fuerunt Roberti filz Neel, in comitatu, Buk et Oxon, et alibi; ac castrum, dominium, et honorem de Caresbrok, et Maneria, et Villas de Bonecombe, Wroxhale, Neuton Panne, Neuport, Ermuth, Whytfeld, et Thorneye, cum libertate et leta Villæ de Brerdyng, cum pertinentiis in Insula Vecta; habenda et tenenda præfatæ Amitæ nostræ, unâ cum feodis militum, advocacybus abbatiarum, prioratum, ecclesiarum, hospitalium, capellarum, et Cantariarum; parcis, warennis, piscariis, visibus franciplegii, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, et omnibus aliis, ad prædicta Maneria, Hameletta, dominium, terras, et tenementa, qualitercumque spectantibus, sive pertinentibus; ad totam vitam ejusdem Amitæ nostræ, absque aliquo, eidem Avo nostro, seu hæredibus suis, inde reddendo seu faciendo; ac etiam prædictus avus noster nuper concesserit eidem Amitæ nostræ quinquaginta libras, percipiendas singulis annis, ad totam vitam suam, de firmâ civitatis Roffensis, et castri sui ibidem, ac wardarum ad idem castrum pertinentium, percipiendas per manus Custodis eorundem, pro tempore existentis, quousque sibi de quinquaginta libratibus terræ, vel redditûs per annum, ad totam vitam ipsius Amitæ nostræ habendis, in loco competentis, per dictum avum nostrum fuisset provisum; et etiam sexaginta et sex libras de firmâ villæ de Scardeburgh, per manus Ballivorum ejusdem villæ, et triginta et novem marcas, et decem solidos per annum, de exitibus Comitatus Notyngham, per manus Vicecomitem, ibidem pro tempore existentium; et similiter viginti libras, percipiendas singulis annis, de firmâ quam homines et tenentes

manerii de Watford eidem avo nostro annuatim ad scaccarium suum reddere tenebantur, percipiendas et habendas ad totam vitam ejusdem amitæ nostræ; et similiter concesserit dictus avus noster præfatæ amitæ nostræ custodiam omnium terrarum et tenementorum, cum pertinentiis quæ fuerunt Thomæ de Courtenay Chivaler defuncti, qui de ipso avo nostro tenebat in capite, et quæ per mortem ipsius Thomæ, et ratione minoris ætatis hæredis sui, in manu dicti avi nostri tunc extiterunt, habendam usque ad legitimam ætatem hæredis prædicti, in valorem centum sexaginta et quindecim librarum, tresdecim solidorum, quinque denariorum, et unius oboli; ad quos dictæ terræ et tenementa extendebantur per annum,—in partem satisfactionis quingentarum viginti et quator librarum duorum denariorum et unius quadrantis, quos prædictus avus noster nuper concessit præfatæ amitæ nostræ, ad Scaccarium suum annuatim percipiendos, ad totam vitam amitæ nostræ supradictæ. Subsequently præfatâ amitâ nostrâ Ingelramo de Coucy, de Franciâ, legitime maritatâ, idem avus noster præfatum Ingelramum Comitem Bedford præfecerit, et ei nomem et honorem Comitis Bedford, et insuper unâ cum eodem nomine Comitis Bedford, præfatis Ingelramo et Isabellæ triginta marcas de exitibus Comitatus Bedford, et postmodum mille marcas ad scaccarium ejusdem avi nostri dederit et concesserit, habendas et percipiendas, singulis annis, præfatis Ingelramo et Isabellæ et hæredibus masculis de corporibus eorundem Ingelrami et Isabellæ tunc procreandis, quousque eis de mille et triginta marcatis redditûs per annum, sibi et hæredibus masculis de corporibus suis procreandis habendis, per eundem avum nostrum alibi foret provisum; ac insuper idem avus noster, præfatis Ingelramo et Isabellæ, de Comitatu Soisson, cum pertinentiis in Franciâ, in valorem quingentarum marcarum per annum provideri fecerit, ac etiam eisdem dederit et concesserit Mæneria de Tremworth, et Vanne, ac decem libratas redditus in suburbio Cantuariæ, cum pertinentiis, et manerium de Haselbere, in comitatu Somerset, et manerium de Somerfordkeynes, cum pertinentiis in dicto comitatu Wiltes, in valorem trescentarum marcarum per annum, habenda et tenenda, unâ cum feodis militum, advocationibus ecclesiarum, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis, præfatis Ingelramo et Isabellæ, et hæredibus masculis de corporibus eorundem tunc procreandis, in partem satisfactionis mille et triginta marcarum prædictarum: volens tunc et concedens quod iidem Ingelramus et Isabella residuas ducentas et triginta marcas haberent et perciperent, singulis annis, sibi et hæredibus suis prædictis; videlicet, dictas triginta marcas de exitibus dicti comitatûs Bedford, ut præmittitur, et

residuas ducentas marcas ad scaccarium suum prædictum, quousque eisdem, per dictum avum nostrum, de terris vel redditibus, ad valorem earundem ducentarum et triginta marcarum alibi foret provisum, in formâ prædictâ. Et insuper, præfatus avus noster concesserit præfatis Ingelramo et Isabellæ, quod omnia maneria, terræ, et tenementa, cum pertinentiis, quæ Johanna, quæ fuit uxor Johannis de Coupeland, jam defuncta, nuper tenuit ad vitam suam, reversione, inde post mortem præfatæ Johannæ, eidem avo nostro, virtute concessionis per præfatum Ingelramum eidem avo nostro inde prius factæ, spectante, post decessum præfatæ Johannæ, eisdem Ingelramo et Isabellæ, et hæredibus de corporibus ipsorum Ingelrami et Isabellæ exeuntibus, remaneant, unâ cum feodis militum, advocacy ecclesiarum, et hospitalium, domorum religiosarum, vicariarum, capellarum, parcis, forestis, chaceis, boscis, warennis, piscariis, et aliis pertinentiis suis quibuscumque. Ac etiam, postmodum præfatus avus noster dederit et concesserit præfatæ amitæ nostræ custodiam omnium terrarum et tenementorum, cum pertinentiis, quæ fuerunt Johannis Talbot de Castro Ricardi defuncti, qui de dicto avo nostro tenuit in capite, et quæ, per mortem ipsius Johannis, et ratione minoris ætatis hæredis sui, in manu dicti avi nostri extiterunt; habendam usque ad legitimam ætatem hæredis illius, unâ cum maritagio ejusdem hæredis, absque disparagatione, et absque aliquo, pro custodiâ et maritagio prædictis, præfato avo nostro reddendo. Et insuper dictus avus noster concesserit præfatæ amitæ nostræ, in auxilium sustentationis Philippæ filiæ suæ, quam Robertus filius et hæres Thomæ de Veer, nuper comitis Oxoniæ defuncti, qui de ipso avo nostro tenuit in capite, infra ætatem et in custodiâ nostrâ existens, duxit in uxorem, ducentas libras per annum, percipiendas, et habendas singulis annis, usque ad legitimam ætatem prædicti Roberti, de quâdam firmâ trescentarum librarum annuarum, quam Thomas Tyrell et Johannes James, eidem avo nostro, pro custodiâ terrarum et tenementorum, quæ fuerunt dicti comitis Oxoniæ, reddere tenebantur, prout in litteris prædictis plenius continetur. Jamque præfata amita nostra nobis, per petitionem suam, in præsentî parlamento nostro exhibitam, humiliter supplicaverit ut, cum omnia castra, maneria, dominia, honores, villæ, terræ, tenementa, redditus, firmæ, et custodiæ prædicta, unâ cum stauro, et aliis bonis et rebûs suis quibuscumque, in manum nostram, tamquam nobis forisfacta, occasione sursum redditionis homagii ipsius Ingelrami, mariti sui, in manus nostras, ac adhesionis suæ adversario nostro Franciæ factæ, totaliter capta sunt et seisata; velimus pro statu ipsius amitæ nostræ, in hâc parte, graciose facere

provideri. Nos, ad nobilitatem generis ipsius amitæ nostræ, quæ de regali progenie ejusdem avi nostri extitit oriunda, considerationem habentes, cupientesque ipsam et statum suum, dum in regno nostro Angliæ steterit supradicto, honorabiliter, prout decet, gubernari, et manuteneri; de assensu prelatorum cæterorumque nobilium, nobis in eodem parlamento assistentium, dedimus et concessimus venerabilibus patribus Alexandro, Archiepiscopo Eborum, Willielmo Episcopo London, Radulpho Episcopo Sarum, ac dilectis et fidelibus nostris Guidoni de Briene Rogero de Beauchamp, Hugoni de Segrave, et Thomæ Tyrell, militibus, omnia prædicta maneria, hameletta, honores, dominia, villas, terras, et tenementa, occasione prædictâ in manum nostram capta, ut prædicitur, castro, tamen maneriis, villis, terris, tenementis, et redditibus omnibus, cum pertinentiis, in Insulâ vectâ, necnon dictis firmis civitatis nostræ Roffensis et castri nostri ibidem, et wardarum ad idem castrum pertinentium, ac villarum nostrarum de Scardeburgh et Watford, triginta et novem marcis et decem solidis annuis de exitibus comitatus Notyngham, viginti libris annuis de exitibus comitatus Bedford, Maneriis de Tremworth et Vanne, Haselbere et Somerfordkeynes, decem libratis redditûs in suburbio Cantuariæ, et ducentis marcis per annum ad scaccarium prædictum percipiendis, necnon ducentis libris annuis, concessis in auxilium sustentationis præfatæ Philippæ, filiæ dictæ amitæ nostræ,—quæ penes nos certis de causis reservamus,—dumtaxat exceptis; habenda et tenenda, eisdem Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, Guidoni, Rogero, Hugoni, et Thomæ; unâ cum feodis militum, advocatibus ecclesiarum, hospitalium, vicariarum, capellarum, Cantuariarum, parcis, boscis, forestis, chaceis, warennis, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis; adeo plene, integre, et libere, ac eodem modo sicut præfati Ingelramus et Isabella ea, ante forisfacturam prædictam, meliùs tenuerunt, et habuerunt, ad totam vitam ipsius amitæ nostræ; sub conditione tamen tali,—quòd, quamdiu ipsa, infra dictum regnum nostrum Angliæ moretur, tam diu omnes fructus et proventus de eisdem maneriis, hamelettis, honore, dominiis, villis, terris, et tenementis, cum pertinentiis suis prædictis provenientibus exceptis præ-exceptis, ad usum ipsius amitæ nostræ plenarie custodiantur, et eidem amitæ nostræ, vel attornatis suis, in hâc parte, per eosdem archiepiscopum, episcopos, et alios prædictos, seu eorum aliquem, aut ipsorum attornatos, et ministros, de anno in annum, et tempore in tempus, integre liberentur, et solvantur, circa manutenenciam statûs sui in eodem regno nostro expendendi, absque compoto seu aliquo alio, nobis aut hæredibus nostris, pro tempore quo ipsa infra dictum

regnum nostrum moram fecerit reddendo seu solvendo. Volentes insuper et concedentes, quod quamdiu ipsa amita nostra in regno prædicto moram traxerit, in formâ prædictâ, quæcumque collationes et præsentationes beneficiorum vacantium, quorum advocations Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, et aliis prædictis, per nos dantur et conceduntur, ut prædictum est, fiant personis idoneis Anglicis, per præfatam amitam nostram, eis in hâc parte nominandis. Et si forsan, dictâ guerrâ durante, præfata amita nostra, voluntarie, aut alias de præcepto mariti sui prædicti, extra dictum regnum nostrum Angliæ transierit, vel etiam intantum per eundem maritum suum compulsâ fuerit et coacta, quòd ipsa hujusmodi redditus, reventiones et proficua, aut aliqua alia bona præfato marito suo mitteret, extra idem regnum; quòd extunc omnia maneria, hameletta, dominia, honores, villæ, terræ et tenementa prædicta, præfatis archiepiscopo, episcopis, et aliis sic concessa, unâ cum feodis, advocacionibus, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, et aliis pertinentiis suis quibuscumque, et simul cum proficuis, reventionibus, et aliis bonis, in eisdem inventis, recipiantur, et reseisiantur in manum nostram; concessione nostrâ prædictâ præfatis archiepiscopo, episcopis, et aliis sic factâ non obstante, et sic seisita in manu nostrâ remaneant, ratione forisfacturæ supradictæ. Dedimus etiam et concessimus præfatis archiepiscopo, episcopis, et cæteris feoffatis prædictis, omnimoda reventiones, emolumenta, et proficua, de eisdem maneriis, hamelletis, honoribus, dominiis, villis, terris, et tenementis, per nos, ut præmittitur, datis et concessis, præfatis archiepiscopo, episcopis, et aliis, a tempore dictæ causæ seisinæ eorundem, in manum nostram provenientia, necnon omnia arreragia firmarum, et reddituum, et cæterorum proficuum prædictorum, ac etiam omnia blada, fenum, oves, et cætera animalia, necnon carucas, et totum staurum quæ fuerunt prædictorum Ingelrami et Isabellæ, in dictis maneriis, et hamelletis, honoribus, dominiis, villis, terris, et tenementis, tam exceptis quam non exceptis, necnon firmas, et redditus prædictos superius non exceptos, cum arreragiis eorundem, et insuper prædictas custodias terrarum et tenementorum, ac hæredum prædictorum, cum pertinentiis et firmis eorundem, ac etiam arreragia firmarum, reddituum, cæterorumque proficuum ipsarum custodiarum, ac omnia alia bona et catalla quæ fuerunt ipsorum Ingelrami et Isabellæ, die adhæSIONIS, et sursum redditionis prædictæ in manum nostram, occasione prædictâ similiter captâ, vel seisitâ, habenda et occupanda ad opus et ordinationem ipsius amitæ nostræ, dum ipsa in regno nostro prædicto sic moram fecerit, in eodem regno et non alibi aliququaliter expendenda, absque aliquo nobis aut hæredibus nostris, dum ipsa in eode regno steterit, inde reddendo seu solvendo.

Proviso semper quod aliquod de bonis et catallis prædictis, ad aliquas partes extra dictum regnum nostrum Anglæ, sub forisfacturâ eorundem, absque licentiâ nostrâ speciali, non mittatur seu aliquo modo traducatur. In cujus &c., teste rege apud Westmonasterium, xxvij. die Novembris, per breve de privato sigillo.—*Patent Roll, 1 Rich. II., pt. 2, m. 28.*

NUMBER VIII.—*See page 337.*

Serenissime princeps et excellentissime domine et pater mi singularissime, reverencias, honores, &c.

Serenissimo et excellentissimo principi et domino, domino Henr[ico, Dei] gratiâ regi Anglæ et Franciæ, ac domino Hiberniæ, domino et p[at]ri meo singularissimo, regiis paterisque nutibus filiali devocione, subjec[tis]simâ voluntate. Etsi sublimen (*sic*) ac generosum vestrum semper animum recreare, cuncta eundem perturbantia avertere, pro modulo s[peravi,] acerbissimum tamen doloris mei aculeum et mentis tristi[tiae occasio]nem, sinistro impellente casu, quem et vestræ serenitati [scio tristitiam maxim]am allaturum, velud in demum deductus, compellor, non sine mul[tâ copiâ lacr]imarum pro fluvio explicare. Siquidem, excellentissime domine et gra[ciosissime] pater, ecce fatalis quidem eventus, prosperis successionibus invidens, om[nia m]ea solatia interruptit, leta succidit, et me singularissimo cordis thesauro [magno]pere et inhumaniter spoliavit. Flebilem itaque supra modum rei gestæ seriem [progr]edior recitandam. Placuit Altissimo, cujus occulta judicia coligere (*sic*) nemo [ausus] est, super illustrem filiam vestram, amabilissimam atque suavissimam quon[dam] conjugem meam, paulò ante principium mensis Maii proximè præteriti, [febr]e quâdam triduanâ percutere, per ante sex, ut puto, mensibus impregnatam. [Illâ] aliququaliter temperatâ, cùm jam salus adesse speraretur, cotidiana fe[br]is supervenit, quæ debilem et teneram juvenculam a Deo fatigavit, quoque [mi]re cotidie videbatur spiritum exalare. Admixta erat frequens sincopis sanguinis, per nares effluxus, nimirum copiosus; quæ omnia fuerant pau[lo a]nte Dei auxilio, et phisicorum misterio refrenata: fuerunt nihilominus [sup]er hæc, sibi devotè suscipienti, ministrata ecclesiastica sacramenta. Sed [e]idem, cùm vires essent interiores exhaustæ, nullus fuit digestionis is, nec amplius natura aliquid habuit sustentamentum. Unde infans [mascu]lina (?) michi, die xxij scilicet mensis Maii prædicti, circa auroram matuti[nam] heu! prolibata conthoralis mea ab hoc nequam sæculo trans[nigr]avit. Et mox altrâ die, dolendum funus, in novam civitatem, ubi seni[ores nost]ræ meæ parentelæ requiescunt, me comitante, delatum, et in Beatæ

Mariæ [ecclesiam s] reddendo terræ quod suum est, cum fletu non modico, per ipsius ecclesiæ [canonico]s est sepultum heri, quoque in presenciâ invictissimi principis [domini ac ge]nitoris mei graciosissimi regis, serenissimæ dominæ ac genitricis meæ reginæ Romannorum, illustrium fratrum meorum, m[ultorum] principum procerum et magnatum, ac multarum nobilium do[minarum, cunc]tis unâ mecum lamentantibus, ejus tristes exequiæ sunt peractæ. [Per totum] incomprehensibilis vitæ Deo fidele obsequium, et michi conjugale con[sortium] secundum matrimonii legem studiosis affectibus ministrando, ac o[mnibus], quantum in eâ fuit, se miro modo caritativam et effabilem exhibe[n]te; quam] ob rem præsperandum est quod misericors et miserator Dominus suæ ju[ventu]tis innocentiam in æterna tabernacula collocavit. Sed idem ulc[iscens] dominus, qui sibi misericordiam largitus est, mihi judicium fecit, [et cum] diro flagello, dimeritis exigentibus, visitavit. Quippe, eâ abeunte, [vitæ] simul deliciæ et leticiæ abiere. Heu! heu! horrendum divorcium, quod non ni[si æmu]la mors, omnis suavitatis inimica potuit celebrare. Verum quia Regi q[uoque] et Domino dominantium, qui aufert spiritum principum ita placuit, a[pud] quem non est acceptio personarum, non est meum super hoc ulterius mur[mura]re. Tristia (tristitia) tamen, quæ graviter replevit cor meum, non tamen fa[cile] evanescet; quin si humana possent remedia adhiberi, prorsus corpor[alium] rerum impendia declinarem. Unum in tantâ rerum angusciâ m[ihi] superest, solaminis temperamentum; speciosissima videlicet mihi [et delectissima] utriusque nostrum soboles masculina, quæ tam vestro pater mini filiam quàm mihi conjugem, longævis domino concedente t[ermini]bus, memoriæ comendabit. Hæc, inquam, anchora spei meæ vestr[æ] filię et mea posteritas per quam mihi, matre, proh dolor! sublatâ, propi[nquitatis] vestræ locus est ammodo (omnimodo?) stabilitus, quem etiam indefessis obs[ervationibus et] indesinenti promptitudine cupio a vestrâ paternâ cl[ementiâ] susciperi. Super] hiis et aliis pleni informati venerabilis magister de Ff. sacræ theo[logiæ] Baccalarius, et W. K. serenissimi domini ac genitoris mei orato[r] vestram celsitudinem informabunt. Cujus excellentissimam personam, regnumque tronum vestrum in continuæ felicitatis augmento potens ille rex [.] dirigat qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Datum in novâ civitate præ[dictâ] quarto die mensis Junii; Anno Domini millesimo CCCmo nono.

Celsitudinis vestræ humilis filius,

Ludovicus Comes Palatinus regni (Rheni?) et Bavarie Dux.—
Cotton. MS. Vitellius, E. x, f 81 b. The edges are injured by fire. The passages in crotchets are conjecturally supplied.

NUMBER IX.—*See page 350.*

De par le roy,

Tres reverentz pères en Dieu, et noz très chiers et loiaux. Nous vous saluons souvent et savoir vous faisons que, puis notre departir de vous, nous avons inspeccion des lettres du Roy de Denmark, ja tarde à nous apportées par l'onnourable père en Dieu, l'evesque de Bangor, et notre amé Escuier Johan Paraunt, nos messages, ore a leur retour pardevers nous, et ycelles lettres bien entendues, et par especial un article touchant le desir que nous et les grands et le peuple de notre royaume avons, que le mariage se prendroit dentre le dit roy et notre très-chère et très-amée fille Philippe,—lequel article mesme le roy fait rehercer, en ses dictes lettres,—certes il nous semble, de notre advis, que la response que nous ferions au dit roy, selon ce que vous et nous en avons communicacion, ne pourra honestement passer, ne resounablement, sanz luy donner bonne cause de refuser tout outrement cet mariage. Et pensons bien que si vous eussiez bien veue les surdictes lettres, vous eussiez esté moevez de lui avoir fait donner autre response, plus convenable et accepte à luy que nest encore appointie, sanz enfreindre la besoigne, et sanz venir au contraire de ce que promis luy avons expressive-ment, pas noz autres lettres, passées de l'advis et deliberacion de notre conseil. Et avons portant fait faire une copie d'une lettre, quelle il nous semble estre raisonnable et correspondent à les siens, laquelle copie nous vous envoions, par l'onneurable père en Dieu, l'evesque de Bath avec les dictes lettres du dit Roy, pour les veoir, vous prians treschièrement, que sur ce donner nous vuilliez votre sage advis, à la conservacion de l'estat de nous et de tout notre royaume. E ce ne vuilliez lesser, comme nous nous fions de vous. Donnée soubz notre signet, à notre chastel de Wyndesore, le xxvijme jour d'Avril.

Endorsed :—

Litera regia, suo directa consilio, super
transmissione quarundum litterarum regi

Daciæ et Norwegiæ et Sueciæ, &c.—*Cotton. MS., Nero, B. iii., fol. 23, original.*

NUMBER X.—*See page 370.*

We Philippa, by God's grace Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, and Duchess of Pomerania, declare to all who now are or shall be, that with all humility and affection we cordially thank our most dear and gracious lord and husband, King Eric (whom the God of Heaven, of his favour and good pleasure, strengthen and prosper in future, as he has hitherto done and now does, and quickly bring

him back again, glad and in good health, with his good men and servants,) for his love, favour, and grace. Albeit we are unable to acknowledge his manifold honourable favours, and those of his worthy friends and council, as fully as we well ought to do, and gladly would, especially theefor that his grace has now graciously provided and settled respecting our jointure, wherein we were not heretofore so well provided as his grace (for which may God repay him) has now done, according as the letter-patent fully shows, which his grace has now given us unsealed.

Therefore we now give up and surrender to his grace Naesbyhop, and the fiefs situated in Funen and Romriga, with their appurtenances in Norway, which were assigned us before for our jointure. Now therefore his grace has foreseen and provided for us that, in case of his death (which God avert), he grants us in Seland as much as he and the crown possess therein; which are castles, market-towns, farms, fisheries, with all their appurtenances and rights, to hold, use, and enjoy, until his father's brother's son, Duke Bugislaus, of Pomerania, or if he die and be taken away, then such of his kindred as bear the sceptre, whom the council of these kingdoms choose to be lord over these three kingdoms, after the death of our aforesaid gracious lord and Duke Bugislaus, deliver us our jointure in Sweden, and provide for us, according to the purport of our gracious lord's letters which he has given us to that effect; and such letter and provision is there given and made, that we are provided for as long as God wills us to live. And when this provision is made, then we shall and will immediately deliver up and give back the aforesaid land of Seland, with castles, market-towns, and all rights and appurtenances, free and uninjured to his aforesaid father's brother's son, or to whomever of his kindred shall become king, as aforesaid, without any hindrance or delay.

And moreover our gracious lord, after the advice of his council, has given to our care and committed to our trust that, if his grace should die (which God forbid) as aforesaid, and pass away, we shall then defend, govern, and overrule these kingdoms, castles, and lands, with power and might, in trust for his aforesaid father's brother's son and the kingdom; and if he should die, in trust for the aforesaid kinsman of our gracious lord who shall hold the sceptre, who after the death of both these kings is chosen by the majority of the council of these three kingdoms,—if we have no child by the aforesaid our gracious lord,—until he is major, and arrives at full age. Which trust and authority we shall and will in every manner so accept and

receive, if our Lord destines us thereto to arrive, with all the love and truth, diligence and obedience that can be shown; and we will so rule the aforesaid Duke Bugislaus, or the other aforesaid kinsman of our gracious lord, as is before stated, with the castles and lands, as we would answer before God, and as our aforesaid gracious lord has entrusted and does entrust us. But when the first-named Duke Bugislaus or the other aforesaid heir is major, and comes to his full age, then we shall and will, by all means, deliver up to him the said kingdoms, and castles, and lands, free and uninjured, in the same good faith with which we have received them, without craft, hindrance, or long delay. Excepting the lands, castles, market-towns, and fiefs in Sweden, which, as were before declared, were and now are assigned us for our jointure by our aforesaid gracious lord, to enjoy and hold them, free and unhindered, all the days of our life, and as long as we live, according to the patent and permission of our aforesaid gracious lord.

Item,—by these our letters patent, we shall and will bind ourselves in good truth to the condition that all castles, lands, market-towns, villages, lordships and fiefs, thus acquired and possessed, which, as before stated, are granted us for our jointure, shall all, when we die, without let or hindrance, immediately return to the hands of the kinsman of our gracious lord, who is chosen to be king over these three kingdoms, as before declared. If our Lord will that it so happen that our aforesaid gracious lord and we have no child together, then we shall and will give up Seland, without let or hindrance, as soon as provision is made for us on our jointure in Sweden, that we may be thereby provided for, during the days of our life, according to our gracious lord's letters, thereunto given us, as before declared, with good faith and without fraud. But notwithstanding, whilst God shall grant that our forenamed and gracious lord shall live, he is and shall be fully empowered and authorized to govern and dispose both over our jointure and over the lands and kingdoms, and over all things in all ways, as fully as he ought to do and has hitherto done.

Item—that what is patented and enfeoffed in these three kingdoms, whatever it be, without exception, the patents and enfeoffments, shall so remain fixed and in full power, by all means, as our aforesaid gracious lord's letters, which he has given us, direct.

For the better keeping and right fulfilment of all these articles and of each severally, that we shall and will by all means so settle and confirm every article constantly and unbrokenly, as before declared, with good truth and faith and without deceit, we, the aforesaid Queen Philippa, have, knowingly and with

good will, commanded our seal to be affixed to this letter. And for certainty and evidence thereof, we have requested certain fathers in God, and noblemen, our aforesaid gracious lord's sure liegemen and councillors, who are here present, and by whose consent and advice all things, as above declared, are executed,—viz., Bishop Boe of Aarhus, Sir Anders Jacobsson Lunge, Sir Eric Krummedike, Sir Jeus Grime, Sir Ifwert Bryske, Sir Benedict Paawisk, Sir Aage Laxmand, Sir Anders Nielssen, knights; Jacob Brimle, Eric Ericson, Joachim Sepelitz, Torbern Jearsson Gaas, and Peter Oxe, esquires, to have their seals appended to this letter Given at Soland's Albuge, the year 1420, on the day of the commemoration of the blessed Apostle Paul.—*Translated from Huitfeldt Danske Historie, 4to edit., Kiob., 1603, vol. iv., pp. 105-9.*

NUMBER XI.—*See page 435.*

Inquisitio indentata capta apud Theydon Garnon in comitatu Essexiæ, die Sabbati proximo post festum translationis Sancti Thomæ martyris, videlicet octavo die Julii, anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum vicesimo tertio, coram Johanne Steyke, escaetore ejusdem domini regis in eodem comitatu, virtute brevis ipsius domini regis de “diem clausit extremum,” eidem escaetori, post mortem Cecilie nuper uxoris Johannis nuper vicecomitis Wellys, directi, et huic inquisitioni annexæ, per sacramentum Ricardi Archer, Thomæ Archer, Johannis Roger, Willelmi Bette, Johannis Smyth, Roberti Huet, Willelmi Norryngton, Johannis Cokerell, Johannis Carter, Roberti Pecock, Ricardi Trapper, Ricardi Richardson, et Johannis Wylde, proborum et legalium hominum comitatûs prædicti. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum, quod prædicta Cecilia, die quo obiit nullas terras seu tenementa tenuit de dicto domino rege, in capite nec in dominico aut in servitio in comitatu prædicto. Nec quod eadem Cecilia fuit seisita de aliquibus terris seu tenementis, in comitatu prædicto, in dominico suo ut de feodo, dicto die quo obiit. Sed dicunt super sacramentum suum quod, per quendam actum, in parlamento dicti domini regis nunc tento apud Westmonasterium, anno regni sui decimo nono, inter cæteris inactitatum et ordinatum et stabilitum fuit quod prædicta Cecilia haberet, teneret, et gauderet sibi, pro termino vitæ suæ, maneria de Gaynesparkehall et Hemnalles in Theydon Garnon, in comitatu Essexiæ, ac manerium de Madels in Ippyng, in eodem comitatu, et omnia terras et tenementa, redditus, reversiones et servicia, in villis et parochiis de Theydon Garnon, Ippyng, Theydon Boyes, et Northweld, in eodem comitatu, quæ fuerunt Leonis nuper domini Wellys, absque impetione vasti. Et quod post decessum ejusdem Cecilie eadem maneria et cætera præ-

missa essent et remanerent eidem Dominor egi nunc, et executoribus suis, pro termino decem annorum proximè et immediatè sequentium decessum dictæ Cecilie, et quod post decessum dictæ Cecilie, ac post dictos decem annos finitos, Willelmus Willoughby miles, dominus de Willoughby et de Eresby habebit, tenebit, et gaudebit, sibi et hæredibus suis, maneria prædicta ac cætera præmissa, cum pertinentiis inter aliis, in allocationem integre partium et propartium suarum quæ sibi contigerunt aut contingere debuerunt, ut uni hæredum et copercenariorum prædicti Leonis nuper Domini Wellys. ET ULTERIUS DICUNT jurati prædicti super sacramentum suum quod prædicta Cecilia, die quo obiit, fuit seisita de eisdem maneriis, cum pertinentiis, ac de 10 mesuagiis, 700 acris terræ, 80 acris prati, 460 acris pasturæ, 300 acris bosci, et 16*l.* 15*s.* 11¼*d.* redditûs, ac de redditu quatuor caponum, cum pertinentiis, in prædictis villis et parochiis de Theydon Garnon, Ippyng, Theydon Boyes, et Northweld in dominico suo, ut de libero tenemento, pro termino vitæ suæ, ratione et pretextu actûs prædicti; remanere inde, post decessum prædictæ Cecilie, dicto domino regi nunc, et executoribus suis, pro termino decem annorum incipiendorum proximè et immediatè post decessum prædictæ Cecilie, remanere inde, post decessum ejusdem Cecilie ac post prædictos decem annos finitos et expiratos, præfato Willelmo Willoughby et hæredibus suis, ratione et pretextu actûs prædicti. AC ETIAM JURATI PRÆDICTI dicunt super sacramentum suum quod omnia prædicta maneria, terræ, tenementa, ac cætera præmissa, cum pertinentiis, fuerunt prædicti Leonis nuper domini Wellys. ET QUOD prædictum manerium de Gaynesparkehall ac 3 mesuagia, 200 acræ terræ, 40 acræ prati, 350 acræ pasturæ, 250 acræ bosci, ac 10*l.* 16*s.* 6¼*d.* redditûs, cum pertinentiis in Theydon Garnon prædicto, ac 6 acræ prati, cum pertinentiis, in Theydon Boyes prædicto, parcella maneriorum, terrarum et tenementorum prædictorum, ac cæterorum præmissorum, cum pertinentiis, tenentur de Franciso Hampden armigero, et Elizabethâ uxore ejus, ut in jure ipsius Elizabethæ, ut de manerio suo de Theydon Garnon, per fidelitatem, et redditum 6*s.* ac unius libræ piperis per anno pro omni servicio ac sæcularibus demandis. ET QUOD idem manerium de Gaynesparkehall ac dicta 3 mesuagia, 200 acræ terræ 40 acræ prati, 350 acræ pasturæ, 250 acræ bosci, et 10*l.* 16*s.* 6¼*d.* redditûs, cum pertinentiis, valent per annum in omnibus exitibus ultra reprisas 14*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* ET QUOD PRÆDICTUM manerium de Hemnalles, ac 3 mesuagia, 260 acræ terræ, 20 acræ prati, 70 acræ pasturæ, 40 acræ bosci, et 3*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.* redditûs, ac redditus duorum caponum cum pertinentiis, in Theydon Garnon prædicto, parcella residua maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum præ-

dictorum, et cœterorum præmissorum, cum pertinentiis, tenentur de Edwardo Eglisthorp, et Johannâ uxore ejus, ut in jure ipsius Johannæ, ut de manerio suo de Hoberds, alias dicto Loveyn, per fidelitatem, et redditum 26s. per annum, pro omni servicio et sæcularibus demandis. Et quod idem manerium de Hemnalles, ac dicta 3 mesuagia, 260 acræ terræ, 20 acræ prati, 70 acræ pasturæ, 40 acræ bosci, et 3*l.* 8s. 8½*d.* redditûs, ac dicti redditus duorum caponum, cum pertinentiis, valent per annum, in omnibus exitibus ultra reprisas 8*l.* 11s. 4*d.* Et quod prædictum manerium de Madels ac 4 mesuagia, 240 acræ terræ, 20 acræ prati, 40 acræ pasturæ, 10 acræ bosci, et 5*l.* 2*d.* redditûs, ac redditus duorum caponum, cum pertinentiis, in Ippyng, Theydon Boyes, et Northweld, residuorum maneriorum, terrarum et tenementorum prædictorum, ac cœterorum præmissorum, cum pertinentiis, tenentur de duce Buckynham, de castro suo de Ongre, per servitium custodiendi le Warderstaff, pro omni servitio et sæcularibus demandis. Et quod idem manerium de Madels, ac dicta 4 mesuagia, 240 acræ terræ, 20 acræ prati, 40 acræ pasturæ, 10 acræ bosci, 5*l.* 2*d.* redditûs, cum pertinentiis, ac dicti redditus duorum caponum valent per annum in omnibus exitibus ultra reprisas 10*l.* Et ulterius dicunt jurati prædicti quod prædicta Cecilia obiit 24 die Augusti anno 23 supradicto. Et quod Willemus Bette in omnia prædicta maneria, terras, tenementa, et cœtera præmissa, cum pertinentiis, immediatè post mortem ejusdem Cecilie ingressus fuit, ac exitus, et proficia, inde a tempore mortis ipsius Cecilie, usque festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ex tunc proximè sequentem, provenientia percepit et habuit. Et ab eodem festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli usque diem captionis hujus inquisitionis, quidam Robertus Rede omnia exitus et proficia, inde provenientia percepit et habuit. Ac insuper dicunt jurati prædicti super sacramentum suum, quod prædicta Cæcilia nullas alias neque plures terras seu tenementa habuit nec tenuit, nec de aliquibus aliis seu pluribus terris seu tenementis fuit seisita in dominico suo, ut de libero tenemento in comitatu predicto, dicto die quo obiit, nisi tantum de maneriis, terris et tenementis suprascriptis, ratione et prætextu actûs supradicti. Et quis sit propinquior hæres prædictæ Cæcilie, idem jurati dicunt similiter super sacramentum suum quod penitus ignorant. In cujus rei testimonium, tam prædictus escaetor quam jurati prædicti huic inquisitioni indentatæ sigilla sua apposuerunt, die, anno, et loco supradicto.—*Inquisitions, 23 Henry VII. No. 96, Rolls Chapel.*

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EVELYN'S "TRUE RELIGION."

tures of society in the age wherein he lived, which throw out into singular prominence his own temperate, peaceful, gentle, and gentlemanly spirit. He shows us, first, the scenes that surrounded him in his youth. Day by day he saw society shaken to its foundations. Laws and establishments were subverted, princes were murdered, and churches robbed, by a party claiming to be godly; perjury was justified and rewarded, places of Christian worship were turned into stables, the universities were threatened, hypocrisy ruled in high places and in low, bishops and priests were pronounced anti-Christian, kingship was banished out of Israel, and the "soberest pretenders" countermined one another for possession of the supreme power. Such was England when Evelyn knew it first; and for all this, he adds naïvely, "everything prospered which these men did." But he lived to have other experiences, and to exhibit the reverse of the picture. He lived to see Charles the Second brought back "in so stupendous a manner, as next to that of the Jews from Babylon, there is not to be found in history, sacred or profane, a more wonderful deliverance;" and then what followed? He tells us what he witnessed himself. He saw a people freed from hypocrisy only to become openly sensual, revengeful, and not so much as regarding a form of religion. He saw princes and great men, who ought to have been examples of virtue to others, abandoned to all manner of debauchery. He saw open and avowed adultery seated where sober hypocrisy had been, and, in place of "everything prospering which these men did," he saw on all sides national shame revenging the national vices. He saw bishops and priests restored only to be despised, and, by their cowardly fear of denouncing such enormities, richly deserving the contempt that overwhelmed them. Such is the deliberate view of the Restoration taken by an enthusiastic friend of Royalty and the Church. Nor was it simply that "the gentry were dissolute, the theatres profane, the people libertine, and no face of sincere religion amongst us," but that there suddenly came up a man of great name, Mr. Hobbes of Malmesbury, who had the assurance to draw a grave philosophy out of all this, to deliberately make scepticism tolerable by making it decent, to encourage "raw and fantastical wits" in the delight of making sober mockery of the most venerable truths, to degrade religion into a mere engine of government while he affected to uphold its necessity, and to render it finally a greater reproach to *be* a Christian than not to be *called* one. Our grave, good Evelyn seems to have doubted at length whether his own footing would remain sure in the midst of this universal backsliding; and whether, seeing the great and polite ones of the world believed nothing at all of it, "what had been taught us concerning God, and religion, and honour, and conscience, were not in truth mere chimeras and impostures contrived by our forefathers—crafty men in their generation." To reassure himself against such doubts, and to extricate his spirit from many similar perplexities weighing upon it in that infidel age, he sat down to the composition of his "True Religion."

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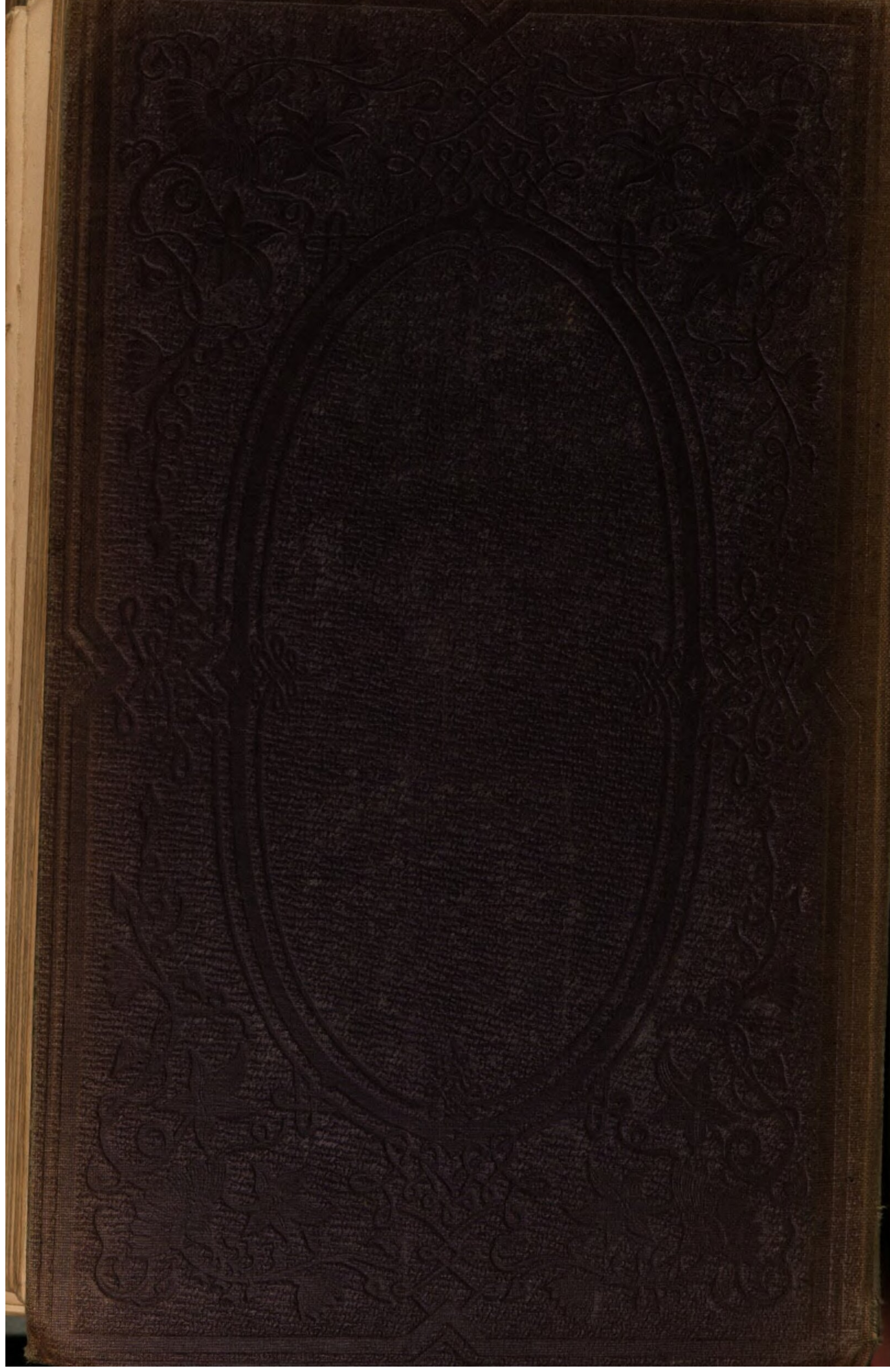
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